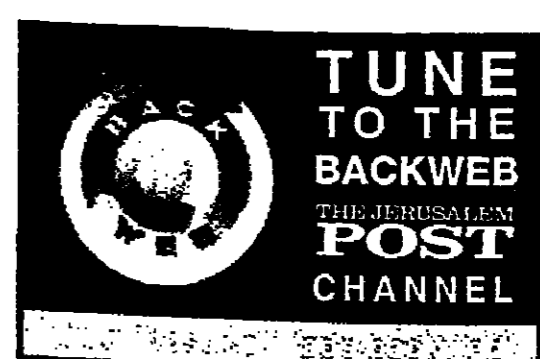


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VOLUME LXV. NUMBER 19649 MONDAY, JUNE 16, 1997 • SIVAN 11, 5757 • 10 SAFAR 1418

The New York Times
8-page supplement



Nicolas Cage: A nice-guy hero
Arts & Entertainment, Page 5



Black leather and blintzes
Page 7

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Court rejects all Bar-On petitions

By BATSHEVA TSUR
The High Court of Justice yesterday rejected three petitions calling for Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi to be indicted for their roles in the Bar-On Affair. The four justices who ruled against the petitions - Shlomo Levin, Eliezer Goldberg, Theodor Or, and Yitzhak Zamir - said that Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein's decision not to indict Netanyahu for lack of evidence was "not exceptionally unreasonable." However, they did not spare Netanyahu, pointing out in their ruling that the decision not to indict the prime minister falls within "the gray area." In the opinion of the state attorney and the attorney-general, circumstantial evidence led to the "reasonable conclusion" and even to "a substantive suspicion" that the real motive for the appointment of Bar-On was something unacceptable.



Attorneys for the petitioners await yesterday's High Court decision on the Bar-On Affair. Labor MK Yossi Beilin (middle, with glasses) sits among the crowd. (Mati Stein)

In a dissenting opinion, Justice Dalia Dornier called for an interim injunction asking Rubinstein to explain why he had decided not to indict Netanyahu. The five justices, however, were united in their ruling that the court should not intervene in the decision not to indict Hanegbi. The petitions, which the court had decided to hear together in a marathon session a month earlier, were submitted by Labor MKs Yona Yahav and Yossi Beilin; five Meretz MKs, led by party leader Yossi Sarid; and Labor MK Ophir Pines.

In another 4-1 ruling, the court dismissed petitions by the same appellants requesting an order that the police investigative report and the minority opinion to the Rubinstein-Edna Arbel report on the affair be published. Goldberg dissented. The justices also took Netanyahu to task in their ruling on another petition, submitted by the Movement for Quality Government in Israel. This petition, which asked the court to order Netanyahu to remove Hanegbi from his post or to shuffle his cabinet, was rejected by four justices, with Goldberg again dissenting. The majority ruled that the law granted Netanyahu wide powers of discretion in this matter. But Goldberg felt that the fact Hanegbi had not told the cabinet of Supreme Court President Aharon Barak's objection to Roni Bar-On's appointment as attorney-general warranted the issuing of an interim injunction to delve further into the matter. Although it turned down the petition, the majority stated in its ruling: "The premier's decision and the behavior of the minister did not contradict the law. This does not mean that they did not contradict ethics."

See COURT, Page 12

PM said planning cabinet shuffle

By JAY BUSHINSKY
Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is weighing several major changes in his cabinet to allow for the possible appointment of former justice minister Ya'acov Ne'eman to a cabinet post, following the High Court of Justice decision not to order any more indictments in the Bar-On Affair. This could open the way for the Science portfolio, which Ze'ev Begin gave up five months ago, to be awarded to Likud MK Sylvan Shalom, the leading candidate. Netanyahu evidently considered shifting Hanegbi to an alternate position of comparable status, but "did not want to undermine his position while he was under a cloud of suspicion, and the High Court's verdict had not been reached," the aide said. "I'm very happy with the decision of the High Court," Netanyahu said, in his initial reaction. "I think this is a day that has made all citizens of Israel happy." Indicating that he now feels that his energy can be redirected toward urgent national issues, such as the pursuit of peace, Netanyahu said: "This affair is behind us. I intend to move forward and to deal now with the problems connected to achieving peace and security and economic prosperity for the State of Israel." Labor MK Yossi Beilin, who filed one of the petitions to the High Court, stressed the dissenting opinion of Justice Dalia Dornier, who believed that Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein should be ordered to explain his decision not to indict Netanyahu.

The prospective reshuffle of portfolios could result in Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi being offered another key ministry, a senior Netanyahu aide said. "The prime minister is obligated to keep the promise he made to bring Ne'eman back into the cabinet," the aide said, noting, however, that Ne'eman's options "may not be limited to the Justice Ministry." He said "it will be possible to find a role for Ne'eman to fill or to come up with some other creative solution" so that Hanegbi could remain in his post.

No absolute truth, only interpretation, Page 3
Hanegbi is more vulnerable than ever, Page 4
See SHUFFLE, Page 4

Opposition: We won't let affair rest

By LIA COLLINS
Coalition MKs expressed satisfaction with the High Court ruling on the Bar-On Affair, and said they hoped it could now be buried, but some opposition MKs said they would not let the affair rest. Meretz leader Yossi Sarid went as far as to say: "The 'black box' [containing incriminating evidence] will be found." "The Bar-On Affair has left a heavy black stain on the records of [Prime Minister] Binyamin Netanyahu and his Justice Minister [Tzahi Hanegbi]," Labor Party faction chairman Ra'anan Cohen said. See AFFAIR, Page 4

Researcher finds libraries superior to Internet

By JUDY SIEGEL
Libraries are still a more accurate source of information than the Internet, thus students should not confine their research only to the Net, according to a Bar-Ilan University researcher. Dr. David Schwartz, of BIU's school of business administration, compared materials on various subjects found in the world's three major libraries - the US Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the British Royal Library - to Internet searches he carried out on the same topics. In each case, the representation of the topics on the Internet was inferior to that in the libraries. For example, searching for material on Mahatma Gandhi, he found 1,502 references on the Internet, while a search on Hollywood actor Arnold Schwarzenegger yielded six times as many. Many Internet sites are profit-oriented, so one can't always trust the information provided by vested interests, he added. "The Internet has opened up a treasure trove of information for researchers and seekers of knowledge throughout the world. It has become common practice by researchers of all kinds to turn to the Internet as a convenient source of information," Schwartz wrote in his article, to be published in the *Journal of Internet Research*. "But how effectively does the Internet really present these researchers with a representative picture of the state of human knowledge?" It is a foregone conclusion that the Internet will become the infrastructure for a global digital library, he continued, "but this is still years away from happening."

May CPI rose 0.5%

By DAVID HARRIS
The consumer price index (CPI) for May rose by a lower-than-expected 0.5 percent to 148.6 points, the Central Bureau of Statistics announced yesterday. The data was welcomed as "good news" by economists and has fuelled speculation on a possible cut in interest rates for July. The annual inflation rate based on the CPI in the first five months of the year is 9.5%, within the government's target of 7% to 10%. The principle price rises were felt in clothing and footwear, fruit and vegetables, and communications. With the exclusion of the latter, these increases are explained as seasonal. The major factor offsetting the rises was considerable decline in housing prices. See CPI, Page 12

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Hebron riots continue Romania offers to host Israel-Syria talks

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Rioting and clashes between Palestinians and IDF troops and Border Police took place in Hebron for the second consecutive day yesterday.

According to the IDF Spokesman, one soldier and one border policeman were injured, and troops arrested a Palestinian rioter. The Palestinians claim at least 15 were injured in the riots. Settlers claimed that 17 fire-bombs were thrown at IDF troops and Beit Hadassah. The IDF Spokesman could not confirm the exact number, but stated the number given by the settlers might be

correct. Toward nightfall the rioting was quelled.

"The Hebron Accord is based on a string of falsehoods," said Noam Arnon, spokesman for the Hebron Jewish community last night. He said it was clear that the Palestinians had planned the rioting.

Arnon said there were no Palestinian Police present to stop the rioters and the IDF was forced to disperse them with rubber bullets and tear gas.

"Despite the fence erected a month ago, the rioters still manage to throw whatever they want over the fence toward our homes," he said, demanding that the IDF take down the fence. "What purpose does it serve other than to make our 'ghetto' smaller."

The Hebron community charged that during the rioting, the alternative route to Tel Rumeida is forced to use until work on the permanent road is completed was closed, leaving the enclave cut off.

"People couldn't reach their houses and those wanting to leave were unable to," Arnon said. "We were guaranteed that the IDF would ensure our safety, but the Palestinians constantly enter the H2 area. The only thing that separates us from the Palestinians are two soldiers."

Meanwhile, residents of Morag in Gush Katif claimed late Saturday night that the Palestinians over Shabbat had torn down 200 meters of the fence erected near their households. They also claimed armed Palestinians had taken up firing positions on the other side of the fence, facing the Jewish settlers and IDF troops.

"We are worried they will try and force their way into the settlement," said resident Yafit Alon, adding that troops were standing next to the settlers.

By JAY BUSHINSKY

Romania has offered to host peace talks between Israel and Syria, suggesting that other Arab states also could enjoy the Romanian hospitality and discretion in a Balkan version of Camp David.

Deputy Prime Minister Adrian Severin made the proposal to Foreign Minister David Levy at a meeting yesterday, during which he also urged him to support Romania's application for NATO membership.

Israeli diplomatic sources reacted favorably to the peace-making format described by

Severin, who also serves as foreign minister. They recalled that the late president Nicolae Ceausescu helped set the stage for the Egyptian-Israeli rapprochement culminating in the late president Anwar Sadat's visit in November, 1977.

Not only does Bucharest maintain cordial relations with Syria, but its foreign policy always has been friendly toward Israel. It did not follow the former USSR's lead in severing relations.

Severin's bid for Israeli backing on the NATO expansion issue was prompted by the US-led alliance's upcoming conference in Madrid on July 8. He evident-

ly believes Israeli influence could boost Romania's case. Israeli diplomats favor Romanian membership on the grounds that Romania constitutes a stabilizing factor in the Balkans.

At the bilateral level, Levy and Severin discussed the feasibility of a quota which could regulate the number of Romanian laborers in this country, only 70,000 of whom are here legally. The idea is that the respective governments would supervise the terms of their employment.

The two also signed an agreement eliminating double taxation between the two countries.

With great sorrow and pain we announce the untimely passing of our beloved

YITZHACK (IJO) RAGER

The grieving wife
Bracha

Children: Eviatar, Avishaf, Gali and Sharon
Grandchildren: Netta, Nadav, Guy, Maya Itai and Elle and the Rogozinsky and Bracha families

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Israel

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YITZHACK RAGER
Mayor of the City of Beersheba

Member of the Boston University Board of Advisors

We extend our sympathies to the Rager family

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deeply mourn the passing of

YITZHACK (IJO) RAGER
Mayor of the City of Beersheba

A distinguished leader and a good partner
We extend heartfelt condolences to
Bracha
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Harvey Wolfe President
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Mourns the passing of

The Mayor of Beersheba

YITZHACK I. RAGER

Member of the BGU Board of Governors
and the Executive Committee

and sends sincere condolences to the family.

Prof. Avishay Braverman
President

BEER-SHEVA FOUNDATION

The Beer-Sheva Foundation
deeply mourns the untimely passing
of its Chairman and Founder

Mayor YITZHACK IJO RAGER
of Beersheba

and extends heartfelt condolences to
Prof. Bracha Rager and the entire family

The Board of Directors, Staff
and the members of the
Beer-Sheva Foundation Association

The leadership and staff of
State of Israel Bonds
deeply mourn the death of

Beersheba Mayor
YITZHACK I. RAGER

Former President of Israel Bonds
and a true and steadfast friend

Gideon Patt
President

The Municipality of Beersheba announces with deep sorrow the untimely passing of the man of vision, the builder and renewer of the city of Beersheba, a dedicated, brave, and faithful man, who loved the city and its residents.

MAYOR YITZHACK (IJO) RAGER

who lost his battle against a bitter illness.

We bow our heads and send condolences to the family,
and to the residents of the city Beersheba, whom he so loved,
and on whose behalf he worked and fought ceaselessly until his final day.

May his memory be blessed.

Those who would honor his memory may view the casket in the Beersheba City Hall Plaza on Monday, June 16, 1997, from 1:30 p.m. The funeral procession will depart Beersheba City Hall at 4 p.m. The funeral will take place at the Beersheba Old Cemetery at 5 p.m.



Peres meets Arafat
Former prime minister Shimon Peres meets with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat in Ramallah yesterday. It was Peres's second meeting with Arafat since last year's elections. At a press conference afterward, Peres said that Arafat, whom he called 'the Palestinian president,' dismissed 'all these stories that accuse him of tending to organize terror. These claims have no basis.'

(Text: Jon Intemann)

More fighting reported in Lebanon

By DAVID RUDGE

Fighting continued in the security zone last night, following long-range Hizbullah mortar attacks against several South Lebanese Army positions earlier in the day.

There were no casualties in the earlier incidents, which were concentrated in the zone's western sector. IDF and SLA gunners returned fire.

Reports from Lebanon said the fighting resumed in the same region last night with more exchanges north of Bint J'ball township.

The incidents yesterday followed a clash between IDF troops and Hizbullah gunmen in the Rehan area, in the zone's eastern sector, on Saturday night.

Cpl. Shimmy Friedman, 20, a paratrooper medic, was moderately wounded in that incident. He is being treated in Haifa's Rambam Hospital for a bullet wound in the chest. His condition was said to be improving.

There has been a marked escalation in Hizbullah activi-

ARRIVALS

THE CHILDREN, STAFF and Board of the Alyn Woldenberg Children's Hospital and Rehabilitation Center, Jerusalem, are delighted to welcome Robert and Isabelle Miller, President and Treasurer respectively of the Friends of Alyn Miami Chapter.

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With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved

RABBI BENJAMIN L. TELLER

The funeral will take place on Tuesday, June 17, 1997 at 10:00 a.m. at the Eretz Ha Chaim Cemetery near Beit Shemesh.

A bus will leave from the Agron St. Synagogue at 9:00 a.m.

He will be deeply mourned by:
His wife: Nehama Teller
His children: Ann & Gil Rosenthal
Azriel & Suzannah Teller
His grandchildren and great-grandchildren:
Jonathan Rosenthal
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With deep sorrow, we announce the passing of the founder and president of the company,
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The funeral will take place after his sons' arrival. Condolences may be extended directly after the interment ceremony at the Sbitany residence in Jerusalem, Shuafat, main road.

His wife and family

مكثامن النحل

IN CONTEXT / HERB KEINON

No absolute truth, only interpretation

"A man hears what he wants to hear, and disregards the rest," Simon and Garfunkel sang some 25 years ago in their hit song "The Boxer." The reactions to yesterday's High Court decisions on the Bar-On Affair prove this point well.

The Likud, including the two heroes of the affair, Binyamin Netanyahu and Tzahi Hanegbi, looked at the decisions and saw complete and total vindication.

Opposition leaders, especially Ehud Barak and Yossi Sarid, looked at the decisions, especially the minority opinions, and saw enough moral turpitude and culpability to call for the dismissal of the government.

Five months and thousands of hours of deliberation and investigation later, the two sides stand exactly where they stood on the night in January when Ayala Hasson placed "Bar-On for Hebron" in the political lexicon.

So where is the truth that everyone — the media, Netanyahu, Hanegbi, Barak, and Sarid — said they were after? In Bar-On, it seems, we are left with no absolute truth, only interpretation. The public, depending on its particular predisposition, is left to pick and choose.

Netanyahu, according to his spokesman Shai Bazak, greeted the decisions with the words, "It is good that justice was done."



Tzahi Hanegbi (Brian Hendler)



Yossi Sarid (Isaac Harari)

Bazak, speaking on Army Radio, was — at least in the morning — much more expansive than his boss. "The same people now talking about the minority opinion never came to terms with the decision of the voters to elect the prime minister, never came to terms with the decision of the attorney-general not to indict him, and now that a decision was made in the court, cannot come to grips with that, and are only talking about the minority opinion."

Hanegbi said he has no problem with the minority opinion. "I was very happy about everything the court said," he told Israel Radio. "It is said that justice needs to be done and also seen. I see the

[April] decision of the state attorney [not to indict] as justice that was done to me, and now the decision by the court as an attempt to bring that justice to light, and show that from a public point of view, there was no basis to the petitions."

But, judging from the predictable reactions of the opposition, they may as well have been reading a decision from another hearing entirely.

Barak issued a statement saying that although he respects the decision, the public should to "look carefully at the minority opinion."

According to Barak, the whole problem was not a legal one, but rather a public/moral one. He said that Netanyahu should have resigned after the attorney-general wrote up his decision not to indict, and that the case should never have even gone to the High Court.

Labor's spokesman issued an even stronger statement. "Despite the majority opinion not to indict Netanyahu because of technical-legal reasons, which — of course — we will respect, there is no doubt that acceptable public norms and common sense obligate him to resign."

Sarid was the least gracious of the losing petitioners. "True, the prime minister will not be indicted under the present circumstances, but the public indictment will come. That indictment — public and moral — has greater validity today in light of the decision and the minority opinion."

Sarid will continue to have plenty of time to look for the missing piece of evidence he believes could link Netanyahu to criminal wrongdoing in the affair. Yesterday's court decision, with all its varied interpretations, insured one thing: The government will not fall over Roni Bar-On.

NEWSLINE

With Yedidya Stern, dean, Bar-Ilan University Law School

By HERB KEINON

Immediately after the High Court decision on the Bar-On Affair was announced yesterday, there was talk among the opposition of another appeal to the Court. In the 1995 Nahmani fertility case, Ruti Nahmani, after losing her appeal to the Supreme Court, asked and was granted another hearing by an expanded panel. Is such a scenario realistic here?

I don't think that is a significant option. The Bar-On case before the court was a clear legal question; there was no new legal ground broken. In the Nahmani case, a wider panel was chosen because that was a special situation, where a sensitive issue was being discussed and there were far-reaching questions of principle. The legal issues involved in this case [Bar-On] are pretty common.

In the decisions involving whether to indict Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and whether Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi should be removed, there were minority opinions. How important are they?

The fact that the minority opinions are published shows that they are significant in terms of public interest, that it is important that the public sees why the justices in the minority thought differently.

Do you think that as a result of the minority opinions, there will now be a public outcry for a committee of inquiry?

I think the affair is over. The affair has passed through all the necessary processes. The government weathered criticism; it was shown that the process of decision making was faulty, but there is no room to bring criminal charges over that.

Should this issue have made it to the High Court in the first place?

In cases like this it is good that the decision gets the stamp of approval of the court, otherwise there will always be questions about the decision of the attorney-general [not to indict].

The police recommended that the prime minister and justice minister be indicted. Both the attorney-general and the court overruled that. Is this a slap in the face for the police?

No, not at all. The different [legal] bodies have different parameters [by which to judge who should be indicted]. The police have their professional parameters. If every case that the police thought should go to court ended in a conviction, the police could act as the judiciary as well. The issues go through various filters, which gauge them differently.

I think that this case is a certificate of maturity for the system. In a matter relating to the highest official, all the processes were employed — the police, the attorney-general, the High Court — and the system worked.

Likud signs up 212,000 members

By SARAH HONIG

The Likud has concluded its membership drive and has emerged with a record 212,000 registered dues-paying members, making it the largest party in the country.

The membership drive was conducted over the past few months, prior to the election of delegates on June 23 for the September party convention.

Labor's recent membership drive netted 166,000 members.

In addition to delegates, the Likud members will choose officials, including new branch chairmen, who will be responsible for revitalizing the party's grass roots base.

The voting in the Likud primaries will take place in 100 polling stations across the country, most of them located in

Likud branches. The final results will be tallied by optical scanner at a special computerized center set up in Givat Shmuel.

Proposals to limit the party leader's authority in party affairs and return more authority and independence to Likud forums are expected to be some of the more contentious issues at the September convention. There are also likely to be proposals to do away with the direct elections system for prime minister. The Likud had staunchly opposed the direct elections system when it was voted on in the Knesset, though then-MK Binyamin Netanyahu broke party discipline to support it.

Meanwhile, the Likud secretariat is to meet on Thursday to hear Netanyahu speak on diplomatic and political issues.



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authority Chairman Yusef Ararfat since last year's bid to be called 'the Palestinian' to organize terror. The

lg anon

ties recently. UN says there were as many as 800 deaths in May - the highest single month since last year, shortly before the Grapes of Wrath.

ARRIVALS

NEWS

in brief

Bar-Ilan to honor Sharansky, Havel

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky and retired Supreme Court justice Menachem Elon are to receive honorary doctorates from Bar-Ilan University in a ceremony tonight at the university's Ramat Gan campus.

Infant dies at day-care center

A five-month-old boy apparently choked to death at his day-care center in Bat Yam yesterday. A half hour after feeding the infant, the caretaker noticed that he was not responding to stimuli and called Magen David Adom.

12 remanded in Kafr Ma'ar murder

Ha'amakim Police arrested 12 people yesterday and Saturday in connection with the murder of Omar Saleh on Saturday in Kafr Ma'ar in the lower Galilee. All 12 were remanded yesterday for periods of between four and 12 days.

Hospitals delay service reduction

By JUDY SIEGEL

Directors of the country's 25 state general, geriatric, and psychiatric hospitals have agreed to postpone a severe curtailment of services that was to have begun this morning. They did so at the request of Health Minister Yehoshua Matza, who asked for time to negotiate with the Treasury over its 20 percent cut in hospital budgets.

Biran: Mideast arms race increasing

Israel opens its Paris Air Show exhibit

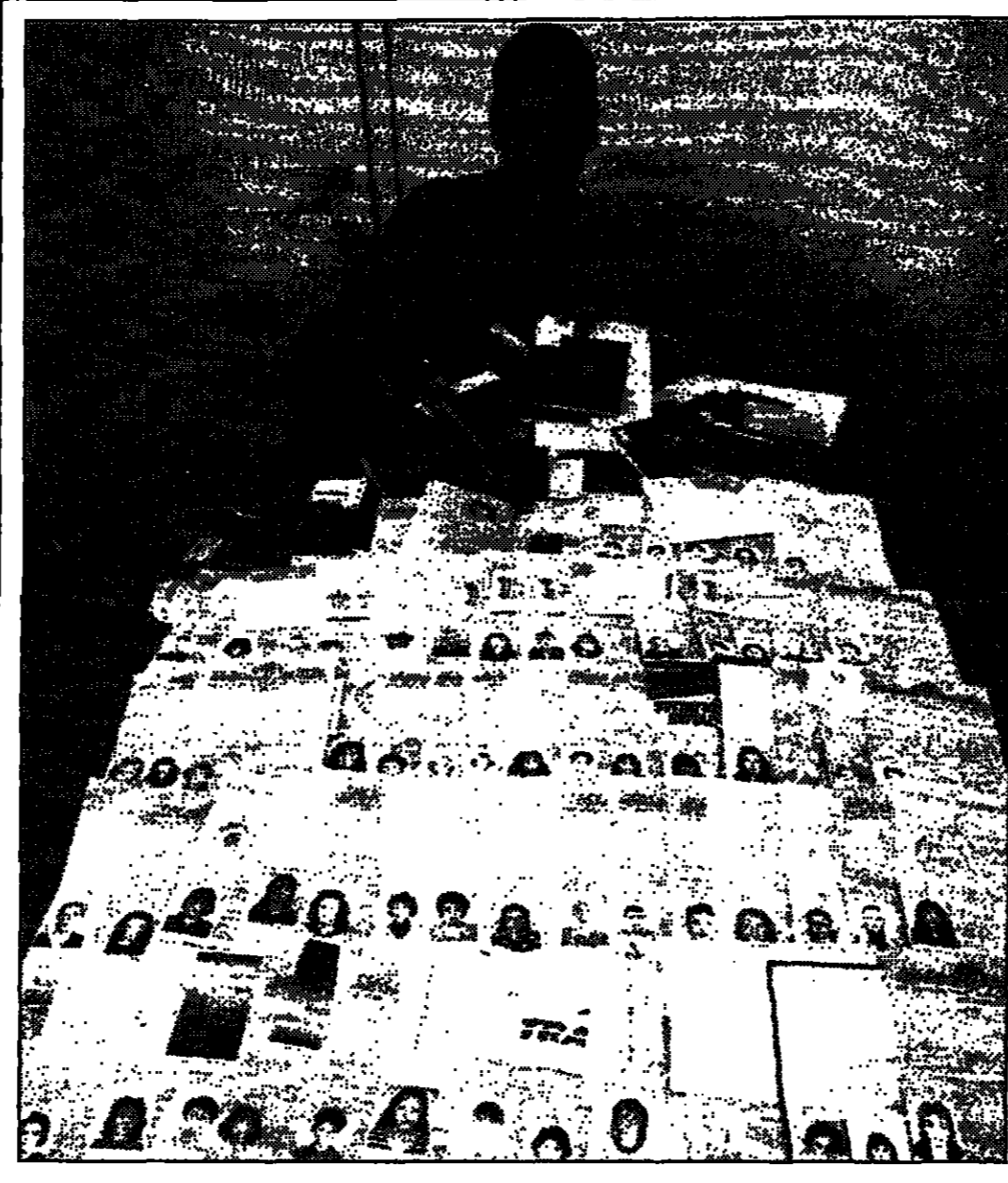
By ELDAD BECK

PARIS - The Middle East arms race has accelerated, bringing with it the threat of unconventional weapons and long-range ballistic missiles, and Israel must confront these threats with an array of defensive and offensive means, Defense Ministry Director-General Ilan Biran said here yesterday.

place where a compromise and a conciliation could be reached is around the negotiating table. Until that day will come, [Israeli] scientists and workers of military industries will go on strengthening Israel's deterrence capacity.

SIBAT, the Defense Ministry department that promotes defense exports. Under the slogan "armed for the third millennium," the Israeli exhibitors are displaying a range of upgrades, modernizations and add-ons, designed to extend the lives of current defense systems.

world's most advanced dogfight missile. The Python 4, which has been used by the IAF for several years, has already been ordered by two air forces and is being evaluated by the Australian Air Force.



Sneaking in An Interior Ministry clerk displays the dozens of passports confiscated in Haifa port that belong to women who arrived here on one-day cruises from Odessa and Cyprus and never returned to their ships.

ANALYSIS

Hanegbi is more vulnerable than ever

By SARAH HONIG

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi seemed elated and confident yesterday after yesterday's High Court decision. He said that "now of all times, it would seem very unlikely that [Prime Minister Binyamin] Netanyahu would want to remove me from my post."

Prime Minister's Office is that there was no chance that Ne'eman would publicly send any signal as long as Hanegbi was cast in the endangered martyr role. Now that he is safe, it may be a different story.

Mevasseret squatters remain in absorption center

By ELLI WOHLGELERTER

Some 300 people who broke into apartments in the Mevasseret Zion absorption center over the weekend were still there yesterday, as Jewish Agency officials pressed to have them removed.

police spokesman Shmuel Ben-Ruby. "We are negotiating with them together with the Jewish Agency and the local authority. They're not locked in with guns, with police forces surrounding the building, or anything like that."

"It's not our business how they do it, and what they are going to do. According to the law, those people broke into our property."

Mevasseret residents, mostly from the Maaz Zion section. Moyal denied allegations that he had encouraged the break-in, saying that he had tried to get the first couples to leave upon their arrival Thursday evening.

Acre protesters demand development status A be restored

By DAVID RUDGE

Hundreds of demonstrators yesterday closed access routes to Acre, where a strike of schools and many businesses brought the city to a standstill.

other development towns in the Galilee which still enjoy A status. "Land and homes are much cheaper, by up to \$30,000 on a house, in development towns with A status. Mortgages are also easier to get and bigger residents get 15 percent income tax reductions," said de-Castro.

Beersheba Mayor Yitzhak Rager dies at 65

By SARAH HONIG

Beersheba Mayor Yitzhak Rager, 65, died yesterday after a seven-month battle with cancer. He will be buried today.

Gadna education officer, he established the National Service program that sent high school students to development areas. He was also a journalist, holding several positions at Israel Radio, and editing Hayom, the daily established by Moshe Dayan.

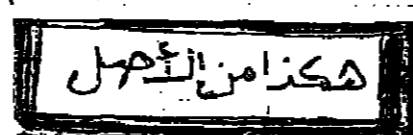
World News, Page 9 AMCHA - National Israeli Center for Psychosocial Support of Survivors of the Holocaust and the Second Generation Eight Open Discussion Meetings in English for the Second Generation 17.6.97 The Impact of the Shoah: Where Do We Go From Here? Tuesday Evening from 8:30 to 10:00 p.m. at the AMCHA Center, 23 Hillel Street, Jerusalem (Rassco passage), 8th floor Admission: NIS 30 For further information call: 02-625-0745

return to POLAND Join the Jewish Historical Seminars for our in-depth English-speaking tour that examines the heritage that was Jewish Poland. Led by Dr. Edith Rogovin Frankel of the Hebrew University, the 11-day tour starts off with a flight to Warsaw. The itinerary includes visits to Cracow, Lublin, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Warsaw, Auschwitz and Birkenau. Stops will also be made in Tykocin, famous for its 17th century Baroque synagogue, the Janusz Korczak orphanage, the Yiddish theater, the Jasna Gora monastery of Black Madonna fame, the Oscar Schindler factory, the Potocki Palace and much, much more. Dr. Frankel will lecture along the way, providing historical background on the sites. No Shabbat travel. THE DATES: July 6 - 16. THE PRICE of US\$ 1825 is per person sharing a double room, includes flights, transfers, lectures, touring and travel in tourist buses, entrance fees, tour guides and a local guide escort, plus a daily buffet breakfast and kosher or vegetarian meals for Friday night and Saturday lunch. If you are joining the tour in Poland, the cost is US\$ 1380. Single supplement \$185. For further information and reservations, please call Jo-Anne Greenblatt 02-534-2079, or Debbie Zuberi 02-534-5191, E-mail: zuberie@netvision.net.il Ziontours - 19 Hillel St., Jerusalem, Tel. 02-625-4326, Fax. 02-625-5329.

AFFAIR Continued from Page 1 "Even the minority opinion is important and it would be better were Hanegbi to reach his own conclusions and resign," he added.

SHUFFLE Continued from Page 1 "This means 20 per cent of the panel thought this prime minister should stand trial," Beilin said, terming the verdict a political earthquake.

Upon completing his studies, he served as an infantry officer in the IDF and, as a reservist, commanded the regiment that captured Bethlehem and Gush Etzion in the Six Day War. He completed his military service as a lieutenant-colonel.



MOVIE REVIEW

Hijacked! A scare in the air

By ADINA HOFFMAN

Con Air is the first of the big summer blockbusters to crash-land on screens worldwide. It's a noisy, fast-moving, violent affair - ridiculous in its essence but cleverly packaged, too, so that both diehard action-fans and those with a more old-fashioned yen for character and plot should be satisfied.



Good guy Nicolas Cage helps Mykelti Williamson, who will die without an insulin shot.

(Frank Masi)

CON AIR

Directed by Simon West. Screenplay by Scott Rosenberg. Hebrew title: Con Air. 100 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance very strongly advised.

With Nicolas Cage, John Malkovich, John Cusack, Steve Buscemi, Ving Rhames, Colm Meaney and Mykelti Williamson. This sentimentality, mind you, is confined to the expository sequence which takes place even before the opening credits have finished rolling.

have another plan: they mean to hijack the plane, kill a few guards and make a break for Colombia. Caught in the cross-fire, Cameron has no choice but to try and save the day, as well as the life of his one friend on board, a baby-faced diabetic (Mykelti Williamson, Bubba of Forrest Gump) who will die without a syringe for his insulin shot.

But the convicts - an ugly-looking bunch whose flamboyantly depraved members include sadistic ringleader John Malkovich, black militant Ving Rhames and Steve Buscemi, as a sort of boyish Hannibal Lecter -

ketplace every summertime. The surviving half of the producing team responsible for such hardware-heavy, macho show-downs as Top Gun, Crimson Tide and The Rock (his partner Don Simpson died last year of a drug overdose), Bruckheimer is no artist, but he does have a real managerial gift, a knack for assembling quirky groups of fine male actors, capable stuntmen, and crews skilled enough to carry out his high-concept outlines without innovating too much or veering too far from his trademark, boy-toy fetishization of the sleek tails and crowded hulls of planes, trains and submarines.

In the case of Con Air, he's hired the talented young screenwriter Scott (Beautiful Girls) Rosenberg, who writes lines that

are wordier than those of the average action film script. The dialogue does, of course, contain a strong dose of the usual profanity/inanity ("This is a situation that needs to get unf--ed right now!"). Bruckheimer's hand is evident here and he seems also to have helped formulate the somewhat ominous equation that says the bigger a character's vocabulary, the more pronounced his psychopathic tendencies.

First-time director (air-traffic-controller is more like it) Simon West, meanwhile, does work that is serviceable if crude. The slo-mo kicks in a few times too many, the electric guitar wails indiscriminately, there are several bizarre leaps in logic, and the final chase scene down the Las Vegas strip is interminable. But he gets the job done.

NEWS of the muse

Kfar Blum tickets go on sale Music lovers who plan to spend this summer in Kfar Blum, at the country's one and only chamber-music festival should mark Friday June 20 in their calendars. This is the day on which the coveted festival tickets for the Kol Yisrael Upper Galilee Music Days go on sale throughout Israel, with organizers strictly maintaining that no reservations will be accepted prior to that day.

Rubin prizewinner heads for Moravia Ella Osherov, who won first prize in the recent Jerusalem Rubin Music Academy for pianists will represent Israel in a music festival being held in Moravia (in the Czech Republic) through this month. The festival, which focuses on how different peoples can communicate better with one another, features up-and-coming young musicians from all over the world who will perform in 13 cities in Moravia.

Poretzky makes top 14 in Tokyo Mezzo-soprano Susanna Poretzky recently returned from Tokyo where she reached the final stages of the Placido Domingo Opera Competition. Out of the 700 singers who auditioned for the competition 40 were invited to Tokyo, out of whom 14, including Poretzky, reached the final stage. Poretzky, who by her own admission is not a competition animal, says "It was nerve-racking and I still need time to get over it. But it was a wonderful experience. Domingo was very cordial to all of us and even addressed me a little bit in Hebrew. He promised to try and help each and every one of us in his career."

'Avengers' battle fire A fire on the set of The Avengers, currently being filmed in Britain, damaged part of the roof and injured two firemen, fire officials said Saturday. Buckinghamshire fire service said 60 firefighters fought the blaze at Pinewood Studios, 30 kilometers northwest of London, for almost eight hours Friday night before it was brought under control. Ralph Fiennes, Uma Thurman and Sean Connery are starring in The Avengers, which is based on the 1960s British cult TV classic. None of the stars were at the scene when the fire started. Mission Impossible, Interview With The Vampire and The Saint have all been filmed at Pinewood in recent years.

Moving the earth

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Avishai Cohen made a very special local debut last week. The 27-year-old bassist played at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall within the Monk marathon of the Israel Festival. It was the first time the local jazz musician, who left Israel for the Big Apple, returned to play on his home turf.

Cohen has just recorded his first solo album, produced by himself and Chick Corea. He has also played with the likes of Winton Marsalis and Roy Hargrove. Cohen, who began playing the piano long before he changed to the bass, was interested in music in general and jazz in particular since he was 16. He spent his military service entertaining the troops in the army's entertainment corps. After his service was completed, he began playing the double bass.

ISRAEL FESTIVAL REVIEW

Unbalanced Mendelssohn

The Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra's second contribution to the Israel Festival, at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall on June 9, was a Mendelssohn evening that had its ups and downs. Orli Shaham, in her local orchestral debut, played Mendelssohn's First Piano Concerto with élan. It is obvious from her playing that Shaham is still developing as a pianist, but that said, she had a very clear personal imprint on the concerto she performed.

Dark side of the rainbow

US sales of Pink Floyd's Dark Side of the Moon have soared in the past month since rumors started flying that the spacey British band's 1973 album is actually a secret soundtrack to the 1939 American classic movie, The Wizard of Oz. It's the biggest hidden-message buzz since people spun their Beatles records backward to learn if singer Paul McCartney really was dead. Aficionados have dubbed the supposed collaboration Dark Side of the Rainbow, referring to the idealistic song from the movie, "Somewhere Over the Rainbow."

ESRAVISION TV CHANNEL 9. THIS WEEK: Children's English Drama Workshop; Antique Cars; Dry Bones; ESRA Events. Tevel - Tel Aviv - Dan Area 6:00 p.m. Today only Note new times! Matav - Haifa Town Area 5:00 p.m. Netanya Area 7:30 p.m. Idan - Central & Southern Area 6:00 p.m., 9:30 p.m. Arutzai Zahav - Dan & Sharon Areas 9:30 a.m., 9:00 p.m.

SEE IT IN HEBREW- HEAR IT IN ENGLISH!

A FAMILY STORY June 17 at 9:00 p.m. While reading her grandmother's diaries Naomi stumbles upon a dark family secret that changes her life forever. This story traces the life of the Stein family from Heidelberg, Germany in 1935 to Israel in the early 70s, while in the background historical events unfold and secrets are revealed. THE REDUCED SHAKESPEARE COMPANY The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (abridged). All 37 days in 97 minutes Direct from London's West End June 24 at 8:30 p.m. June 27 at 2:00 p.m. and 8:30 p.m. COMEDY OF ERRORS July 1 at 8:30 p.m. The smash-hit production of Shakespeare's classic comedy, set amidst a modern, war-torn Middle Eastern city, with dazzling stage effects, which include drums, gunshots, torch lights and even belly dancing. BOX OFFICE: 03-523-3335 - FAX: 03-523-0172 SUBSCRIPTIONS: 03-524-5211 The Cameri Theatre can now be found on the Internet (Address as follows): http://www.cameri.org.il



Natan Dankner (left) and Oded Teomi in Ronald Harwood's 'Taking Sides' (Harmay)

The peasant and the princess

By HELEN KAYE

'A play has to be annexed by the language it's in,' says Ronald Harwood, talking about seeing a Russian production of his play, The Dresser, in Moscow that "was like a Tolstoy epic. They had taken the play over, and every company that does my plays should do that. It's the hallmark of a successful translation." The South-African-born British playwright was here recently to see the Cameri Theatre production of his drama Taking Sides. He liked it so much that he saw it three times, and wants director Micha Lewensohn to direct it in other countries. Taking Sides is called The Conductor in Hebrew because one of the two main protagonists is the great German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, the man his enemies called "Hitler's maestro." After the war, his companion (and acknowledged Nazi) Herbert von Karajan was rehabilitated, but Furtwängler was all but crucified as a willing collaborator with the regime. His antagonist in the play is an American army major who wants Furtwängler indicted as a war criminal. The play ends inconclusively, which is the way Harwood intended. "It's for the audience to take sides," he has said in a previous interview. "What the play talks about is the artist in a totalitarian society. At the end of it you ask was he or was he not a Nazi? Was he or was he not a good man?" Yet he finds it difficult to talk of his work, "because I never go back. I get bored when the work is done. I'm always looking forward. People often don't understand how a writer works. I wrote Taking Sides in 1993, but it only came out in 1995. I'd written a lot since then, and I was a different person." Harwood calls himself a compulsive writer. He is best known as a playwright - Habimah did The Dresser in 1988 - but he is also a novelist, essayist, biographer, screen and short-story writer and his first published work was a novel, All the Same Shadows, which he wrote on a portable typewriter from his father-in-law in 1960. It's the first-person story of a Zulu houseboy in Cape Town who gets trapped by the police. "I wrote it in three weeks," he says smiling at the memory. "I finished it one morning while my wife was out shopping. I had a feeling of exhilaration that I'd never had before or have had since. I could hardly catch my breath." He wrote his first teleplay, The Barber of Stamford Hill, "immediately after the novel and I got a contract for two TV plays a year. Then my second play, Private Potter, was made into a movie and after that, Darryl Zanuck gave me the screenplay for A High Wind in Jamaica. I never organized anything. It just happened." Harwood, 63 in November, is a courteous, soft-spoken man. He lives with his wife, Natasha (and they've been married 48 years), in a London apartment, escaping to their country home in Sussex for clean air and quiet. The couple has three children and four grandchildren, "with one more on the way," he says happily and obviously proud of the whole lot. He is a past president of the writers' organization International PEN, and has been active all his professional life on behalf of human rights "but very strictly on behalf of writers only, whether they're left, right or center." This is his third visit to Israel. He first came with a group of writers in the late '70s and then again in 1995, when he spent a week at the International Book Fair in Jerusalem. The trip was part of his prize from London's The Jewish Quarterly awarded for his latest book, Home, which is "a very long novel based on the travels of mine and my wife's families over the world. It ends with their meeting." His wife's family comes from the Russian aristocracy. She is a direct descendant of Catherine the Great. Harwood's family "is Jewish peasant stock. My father escaped the pogroms in Lithuania in 1902 and settled in South Africa." Much of his work is autobiographical, Harwood agrees. "but I think that all writers write like that, consciously or not, because yours is the only experience you really have and then you transform it. "I always have lots of ideas all the time and some take root. I never make notes because if the idea does take root, it will grow and the moment it does take root, I know whether it will be a play or a novel." His most recent play was last year's The Handymen, about an 80-year-old Ukrainian living with an English family who gets arrested for war crimes. His next play, Equally Divided, is about two sisters and a contested will. It's ready, but will only be produced next year. Why? "Because to have a play a year is rather vulgar."

center

Mayor dies at 6

Partial view of a news article on the left side of the page, mostly cut off.

Sunday, June 15, 1997 Vol. CXLVI—No. 50,824 Copyright © 1997 The New York Times

Greasy Kid Stuff

Washington Kidnaps Dick and Jane

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON WHEN President Clinton and Congress clinched their deal to balance the Federal budget, Republicans rushed to the Capitol rotunda to celebrate. Sweeping up a little boy named Jose, two lawmakers hailed him as a symbol of the millions of children whom a balanced budget would benefit.

These days much of the nation's political debate focuses on children — or on the needs and interests of children as defined by politicians and advocacy groups. From the battle over abortion to the war against Joe Camel, from solving the problems of welfare and health care to protecting the environment, adults are basing their arguments and strategies on the next generation.

Much of the concern is genuine and warranted. But children are also being used as proxies in larger debates over social and economic policy. Even as they take opposing positions, liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans, ask, in effect: "How could you oppose me? I am protecting the interests of children."

Children don't vote, so they cannot reward or punish those who champion or ignore their interests. The very young — and those not yet born — cannot speak for

themselves ("infant" means "unable to speak") so they cannot challenge politicians who speak for them. Politicians, of course, have always kissed babies to appeal to their parents. But Government efforts on behalf of children today — initiatives that strike responsive chords with baby boomers still rearing their own children — go far beyond such gestures.

Children are cute, and useful to politicians, in ways that adults aren't.

Mr. Clinton, for example, set his Administration's tone with the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, the first bill he signed, which allowed workers to take unpaid time off to care for newborns. He now wants to expand it so workers can be excused to attend school conferences or to take their children to the doctor.

The centerpiece of the huge tax bill that Congress is now writing is a \$500-a-child income-tax credit. To protect children, the Government has proposed new restrictions on tobacco, tried to keep hard liquor ads off television and radio, advocated use of the V-chip and prodded the television industry to flag programs con-

taining sex or violence. A new law seeks to protect children from sexually explicit material on the Internet. And Mr. Clinton recently toughened food safety standards to protect children against food-borne illnesses.

The techniques of child advocacy that were perfected by liberals like Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, are now imitated by many, including the conservative Family Research Council, headed by Gary L. Bauer, a former Reagan Administra-

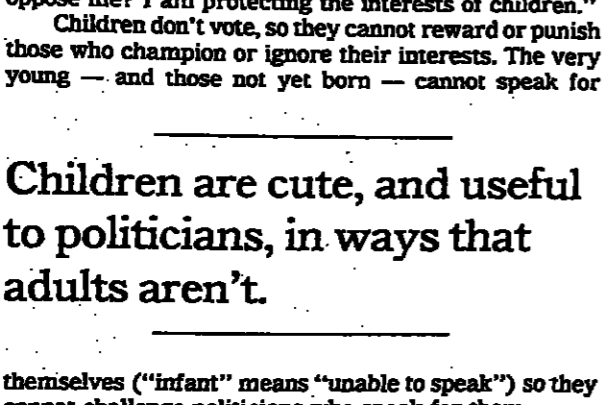
tinn official. In recent budget battles both sides invoked the interests of children to justify their positions. Republicans say that their crusade to balance the budget is waged on behalf of children, and that the burden of debt on future generations must be reduced by cutting programs for this one. Interest on the debt already accounts for 15 percent of Federal spending, more than is spent for Medicaid, food stamps, welfare and education combined.

Shifting the Focus

Mrs. Edelman has focused attention on poverty through the lens of children's needs. In her 1987 book, "Families in Peril," she said that the Children's Defense Fund had been formed "because we recognized that support for whatever was labeled black and poor was shrinking, and that new ways had to be found to articulate and respond to the continuing problems of poverty and race, ways that appealed to the self-interest as well as the conscience of the American people."

Wade F. Horn, president of the National Fatherhood Initiative, a nonprofit group that tries to get fathers more engaged in their children's lives, said, "Marian quite strategically, cleverly and effectively shifted the focus from poverty to children, knowing that people would be more interested in poor children than in antipoverty

Continued on Page 3



From "Growing Up with Dick and Jane," by Carole Kasmaic and Marvin Reiferman, HarperCollins Publishers

Big Apple (Pie)

Guess What City Looks Like America

By KIRK JOHNSON

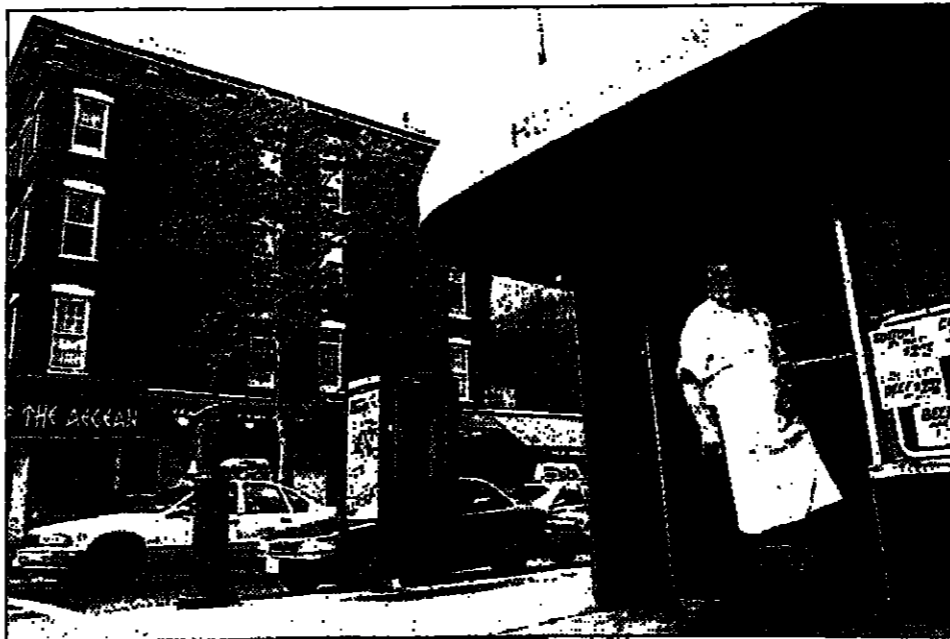
NEW YORK CITY often seems like some outlier to the American experience. By its scale and its reputation for excess, the nation's largest city has long cultivated an aura of prickly difference that residents and nonresidents alike have relished. New Yorkers gaze across the Hudson with arrogance and contempt, and the rest of the country gazes back with awe, loathing and relief.

But the millions of foreign tourists who are thronging the city's streets, and corporations like the Walt Disney Company that are burnishing landmarks like Times Square into high-gloss symbols of American culture, are seeing — or marketing — a different New York entirely. Their New York is in fact a mirror for all that is so distinctively American: its multiculturalism, its brutish economic vitality, its break-neck pace.

Hello? Will the real New York, or the real America, please stand up? Is New York really a place apart from America, or is it so American that we don't quite recognize it up close — or don't want to?

The answer is to be found in contradictions that increasingly define New York. One hundred years after the consolidation of its five boroughs into one city, creating the world's first true megalopolis, the paradoxes woven through New York's economy and culture are pushing it toward a new and unfamiliar place: a New York that actually resembles the country around it.

For all its reputation as home to the avant



Linda Rosen: The New York Times

Village life endures in Manhattan. A Hungarian meat market in the Yorkville section.

garde and, in the past at least, to liberal local government, and despite what might seem in some neighborhoods to be an unusually high body-piercing rate, New York may be as deeply conservative in its institutions and traditions as any place in America.

True, the city's size does allow individualism and eccentricity. But the nation's broad social and economic trends, whether in retailing or in spirituality, tend to start else-

where and find their way to New York only later, if at all. In the 1990's, that pattern is making New York one of the last refuges of an old-fashioned America that has been mostly lost across much of the country.

In a nation where malls and big-box retailers like Wal-Mart have killed off downtowns and transformed many of the rhythms of economic life, much of New York, for better or worse, echoes Beaver

Cleaver more than Beavis and Butt-head. Family-owned businesses thrive. Central business districts are still places to shop.

There is, strange to say, still a small-town feel in the city's commerce. Local movie houses serve local neighborhoods; multiplexes have yet to conquer. New York coffee, until recently, remained a weak brew bought in delis, long after companies like Starbucks had reinvented it elsewhere. This weekend Disney celebrated the world premier in Times Square of its animated movie "Hercules" with a parade through Manhattan that would have been right at home on Main Street, U.S.A.

There is a quaint, dated feel to many of the city's demographic patterns as well. Despite the New York stereotype of the two-income, cigar-puffing power couple, nearly half of the residents of the New York metropolitan area do not work outside their homes (think June Cleaver), a higher proportion than in any other urban center. That gap has begun to close in the last few years, though, bringing the city more in line with the national norm.

Sociologists and other experts in economic culture say New York, first in so much, brings up the rear as a trend-setter because of its history, money and geography.

The city was built, and continues to be rebuilt now as much as ever, by foreign immigrants. Immigrants have historically never stretched boundaries. They assimilate. They work hard and hope to see their children enter the mainstream.

"The first generation strives, and the

Continued on Page 4

Mitigating Circumstances Seeking sympathy for killers: It sometimes works.

By Kevin Sack 2

Separate, Unequal, Placid Peace and quiet on the race front. Anyway, quiet.

By Steven A. Holmes 3

Auto Safety? Americans demand freedom of road risk.

By Matthew L. Wald 3

Jerusalem Post

DECLARE AMERICAN AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS BE NON-ISH. IT'S BRILLIANT!

CANT FA BRING GET! THEY SHOULD THANK US.

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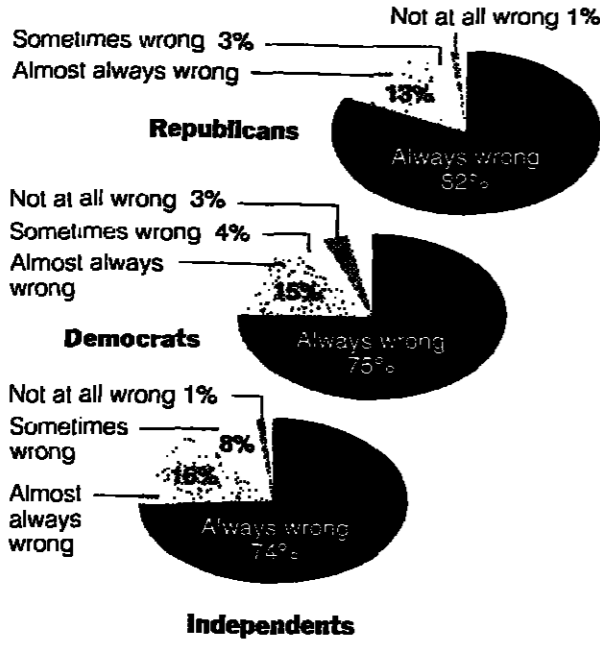
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The Nation

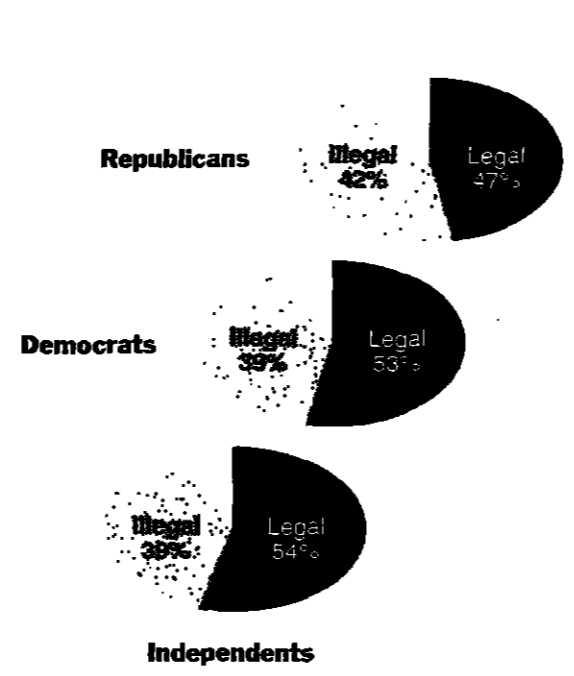
Suddenly, the New Politics of Morality

Where the Public Stands

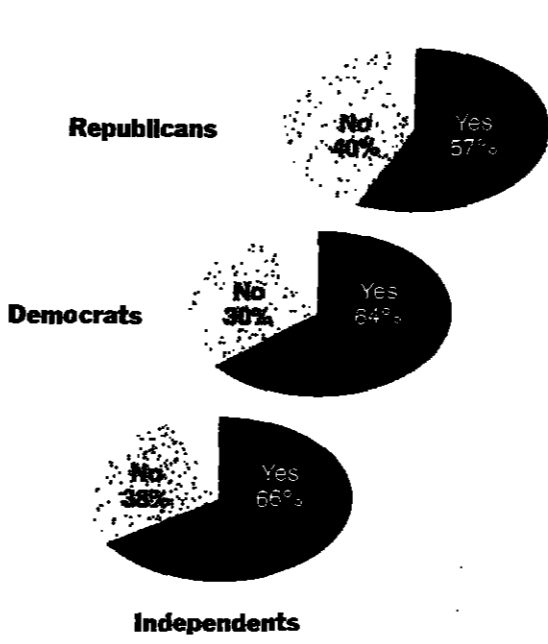
What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the person's marriage partner?



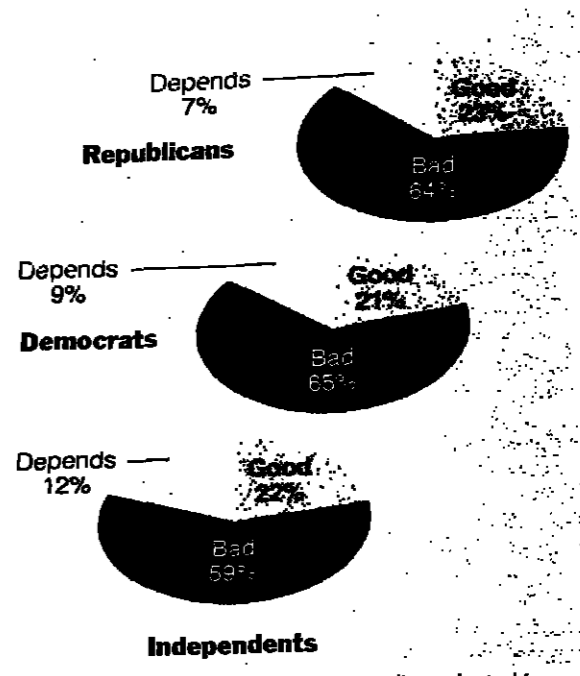
Do you think it should be legal or illegal for a doctor to help a terminally ill patient commit suicide?



Do you think doctors should be allowed to prescribe small amounts of marijuana for patients suffering serious illnesses?



From what you know, do you think cloning is a good thing or a bad thing?



Based on a 1996 national telephone poll conducted by the National Opinion Research Center.

Based on a 1996 national telephone poll conducted by The Washington Post.

Based on a 1997 national telephone poll conducted by CBS News.

Based on a 1997 national telephone poll conducted for NBC News and The Wall Street Journal.

By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON
WANT to see a politician really hem and haw? Show up at his or her next town meeting and ask about the issues now dominating American public discourse: Should adultery be tolerated in the military? Should cloning be banned or encouraged? Should doctors be allowed to help terminally ill patients commit suicide? Most politicians do not have well-thought-out answers to these questions. The political parties certainly don't. Democratic or Republican position papers on adultery? Highly doubtful.

Politicians are at a loss in part because mixing the moral and the political has always been perilous. Such issues do not fit comfortably in the political arena because views on them are so subjective and personal that they defy ideological categorization. And politicians have had little practice debating morality without the templates of the cold war and economic ideology that until recently shaped political dialogue.

Dan Schnur, a former aide to Gov. Pete Wilson of California, a Republican, said that when politicians weigh in on such issues, "Republicans end up sounding sanctimonious and Democrats end up sounding hypocritical." Remember the firestorm Newt Gingrich caused in 1994 with comments about Susan Smith? He said her drowning of her two children in South Carolina underscored "how sick society is getting," and that "the only way you can get change is to vote Republican."

Abortion is probably the prime illustration of how problematic, and incendiary, moral questions can be. As much as some Republicans trumpet their opposition to abortion, the issue has caused great grief to a party trying to broaden its appeal.

But moral questions are on the political agenda now in part because with the economy soaring there are

fewer old battles to fight. Just last week, the two parties agreed to cut taxes, an issue they've been feuding over for a generation. In addition, the nation is preoccupied with no war or great external threat. And so big cultural issues that people usually only ruminate about at family dinners or with their ministers have been brought to the fore — pushed there by dizzying technological and scientific advances and demographic changes, among other factors. If the parties don't respond to these issues — now core concerns for many voters — they risk becoming marginalized and irrelevant.

Increasingly, moral matters are being played out in political forums, and that may force politicians to take positions. Oregon voters will decide in November whether they want their state to be the first to legalize assisted suicide. And last week, President Clinton, addressing an issue rarely if ever dealt with by his predecessors, called for a ban on the cloning of human beings. But he was more ambiguous about the cloning of animals and certain human genes for research.

Such issues could challenge the parties to redefine themselves. "When an election is about health care or the state of the economy you just get a very different set of alliances than if it is about the right to die or gays in the military," said Byron E. Shafer, a professor of American Government at Oxford University. "The public has a harder time making sense out of politics: If I knew your position on the war on poverty, I would have no idea what your position was on the right to die. If I knew how you felt about union regulation, I wouldn't have a clue how you felt about cloning."

What's My Party Line?

You can make an educated guess as to the likely partisan positions on such issues. You might surmise, for instance, that Republicans, who fashion themselves as the party of the traditional family, would most strongly condemn adultery, especially in the military. But just the

other day there was Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader, defending First Lieut. Kelly Flinn, the Air Force pilot who was forced out of the military last month after confessing that she had lied to commanders about her affair with a married man. And conservative groups were noticeably silent on Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, who removed his name last week from consideration as chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff because he committed adultery years ago. Only women's groups, more closely identified with Democratic politics, spoke out against the General.

"How do parties use these issues to their advantage?" said Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster. "It's

Your feelings about welfare offer no clue to where you stand on cloning.

not easy because the bases of both parties have very strong feelings about these issues that are muddled for most Americans."

Such a predicament was on display last year in California, where most candidates stayed clear of a referendum on medicinal use of marijuana, which voters approved. The only ones who raised the issue were local politicians who used it to play to their bases in overwhelmingly partisan areas: Democrats in liberal San Francisco could afford to play up their support for medicinal marijuana, while Republicans in conservative Orange County could score politically by emphasizing their opposition. But the issue was too controversial to be taken up by candidates running statewide.

Maybe the newly emerged issues will eventually

break along party lines. Perhaps, in time, Democrats will see the "right to die" issue as a matter of basic civil rights, while most Republicans will condemn assisted suicide as violating basic American values.

Then again, such issues may never find a partisan cast. The notion of cloning seems to frighten Democrats and Republicans alike. And which party is about to endorse adultery? On the other hand, perhaps adulterers' right to privacy can be defended. But by whom?

Polls show that on a range of such moral and cultural matters, voters are divided not by party but, if anything, by factors like religion and the region in which one lives. (An exception: far more Democrats than Republicans condone same-sex marriages.) Voters may also be torn over the role of Government in these matters: as much as voters may oppose physician-assisted suicide, they may also resent the idea of Government telling them when they can pull the plug.

William J. Bennett, the Republican values guru, said that while many of the moral issues are not partisan, the parties cannot afford to ignore them. "These are issues that hit people where they live," he said, warning that politicians "are going to be asked where they stand," and they will need good answers.

The proper character of American life has been hotly debated before in American history, and the test of a party is how well it can respond to a new issue. The Whig Party, for instance, collapsed from internal turmoil over how to address slavery. In the 1920's, issues like prohibition and the Scopes evolution trial were at the forefront of politics.

Ben J. Wattenberg, a conservative writer, argues that the moral issues that now preoccupy the public have no place in American politics. "There is going to be adultery in the United States of America," he said, "and there's not a whole lot the Government can do about it." Maybe. But when has the inability of Government to do something stifled a politician from speaking out?

Pleading Circumstances

Tell It to the Jury:
 The Killer Is Not a Demon

By KEVIN SACK

IN a courtroom in Denver last week, defense attorneys portrayed Timothy J. McVeigh as a carefree youngster and dutiful soldier whose patriotism was transformed into something unpredictably dark by the billowing fires of Waco.

Across the country in Trenton, lawyers for the sex-murderer Jesse K. Timmendequas spent the week depicting their client as the product of a horrific childhood marked by rape, incest, alcoholism and deprivation.

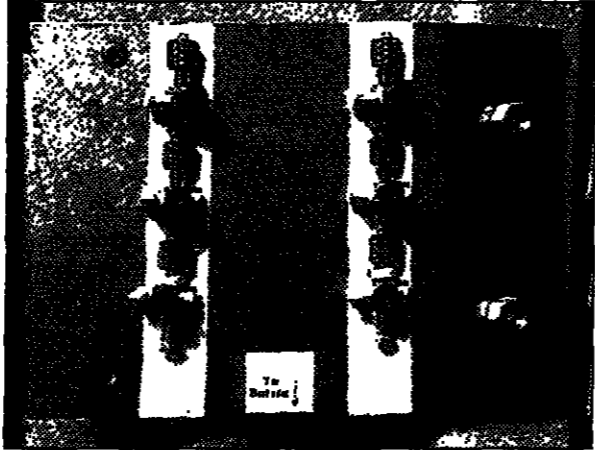
The two tales could not have been more different, but the legal strategy behind their telling was the same. In both cases, lawyers hoped to convince jurors that the murderous behavior of their clients was influenced by external forces: the Government's abuse of power in one instance, a parent's abuse in the other.

In the jargon of the courtroom, these are mitigating circumstances. Their purpose is not to excuse a killer's actions but to explain them, and to humanize the defendant in the process. As Mr. McVeigh's lawyer Stephen Jones asserted in his closing argument Thursday, the aim is to show that the defendant "is not a demon, though surely his act was demonic."

The next day, the jurors turned away that desperate attempt to spare Mr. McVeigh's life. And their decision to return a death sentence illustrates what defense lawyers say are the most and least effective strategies for presenting mitigating evidence.

What works is testimony that leads jurors to understand the psychological, emotional and cultural factors that may have compromised a killer's values. Because Mr. McVeigh's childhood apparently was quite normal, his lawyers were left to argue that his judgment was clouded by anti-government politics. And Mr. McVeigh did nothing during the trial to accept responsibility or show remorse, which lawyers say can move a jury to compassion. His lawyers tried a tactic that almost never works — shifting the blame. "While you always point to external forces, you never want to say it's something else's fault," said Bryan A. Stevenson, director of the Equal Justice Initiative, a nonprofit group in Montgomery, Ala., that represents death penalty defendants. "You just want the jury to appreciate that each of us is more than the worst thing we've ever done."

Once a jury returns a first-degree murder conviction, mitigating circumstances are virtually the only tools available to spare a defendant. Ruling in the late 1970's and early 1980's, the Supreme Court made it clear that juries in capital cases have to hear evidence that



Lethal injection flows from one of three intravenous tubes at San Quentin, at left, and the Federal prison death chamber in Terre Haute, Ind., nearest Oklahoma.



may mitigate against the death penalty.

This evidence is also crucial, argues Craig Haney, a professor of psychology at the University of California at Santa Cruz, in countering one-dimensional media images of murderers as the incarnation of evil, like Hannibal Lecter in "Silence of the Lambs." "There is almost always a direct correlation between the horror of the crime and the horror of the life," Mr. Haney said.

Prosecutors, not surprisingly, are skeptical. "If you buy that, then you buy that there is no accountability, that everybody can find somebody else to blame for their actions," said District Attorney Thomas Charron of Cobb County, Ga., who has tried 40 capital cases.

Mitigating evidence is intended to force jurors to take the full measure of a defendant's life. It takes juries beyond narrow issues of evidence to struggle with broader questions of philosophy, psychology and mercy.

While each death penalty state, and the Federal Government, has its own laws governing capital punishment, each has a process that allows the defense broad leeway in presenting mitigating circumstances.

Typically, a distinct sentencing phase of the trial is held after a jury convicts a defendant of first-degree murder. In order for a jury to impose the death penalty, it first must find at least one statutorily defined aggravating circumstance, like the commission of murder in the course of another felony. Then it must unanimously determine that the aggravating circumstances outweigh the mitigating circumstances. Statutes in many

states specify a number of mitigating circumstances, like the presence of "extreme emotional disturbance" or the lack of a previous criminal record. But they do not restrict the kind of evidence the defense can introduce.

Defense lawyers say vigorous presentation of mitigating evidence can make a big difference. In 1977, a jury in Columbus, Ga., sentenced William Anthony Brooks to death for the rape and murder of a young woman after hearing mitigating testimony only from Mr. Brooks's mother and two sisters. Eight years later, his conviction was reversed on another ground. In a new trial, a new lawyer, Stephen B. Bright, called 15 witnesses who presented vivid testimony about Mr. Brooks's abuse as a child. The jury imposed a life sentence.

Childhood Stories

In Mr. Timmendequas's trial, his lawyers sought to link his 1994 murder and sexual assault of 7-year-old Megan Kanka to their claims that he was sexually abused as a child by his father. They elicited testimony about a mother who bore 10 children by seven men, and about a father who once slaughtered Mr. Timmendequas's pet rabbit and then forced his children to eat it.

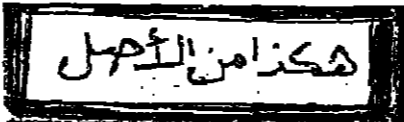
The case presented by Mr. McVeigh's lawyers was less conventional. Rarely does the defense spin a tale of normalcy, of the well-adjusted country boy who always greeted his godmother with a hug and who impressed Army superiors with his discipline and drive.

But that foundation was necessary to demonstrate the stark change in Mr. McVeigh ostensibly brought on by the attack by Federal agents on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Tex., on April 19, 1993. It was in anger at the Government, the defense suggested, that Mr. McVeigh bombed the Federal Building in Oklahoma City exactly two years later, killing 168 people.

Among the mitigating factors jurors weighed, they unanimously accepted that Mr. McVeigh believed the Federal government was responsible for deaths at Waco. But they unanimously rejected the idea that he is "a good and loyal friend" and believed deeply in fundamental American ideals.

In discussing Waco, one of Mr. McVeigh's lawyers, Richard Burr, also told the jurors, "We all bear some responsibility for Oklahoma City," a statement denounced by many as outrageous. And in acknowledging Mr. McVeigh's "demonic" act, Mr. Jones effectively admitted culpability that he had denied during the guilt phase of the trial. Mr. Jones's statement was as close as the defense came to presenting what many lawyers believe is the most important of all mitigating circumstances: remorse.

"If you don't have remorse for taking another person's life, the jury's going to see you as an animal," said David B. Freedman, a North Carolina lawyer who represented defendants in six death penalty cases. "And they're not going to have any problem taking the life of an animal."



The Nation

A Rose-Colored View of Race



Jonathan Levin's slaying is, so far, a case free of racial enmity. A Taft High School student holds a front-page picture of the teacher.

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

EIGHT years ago, a 29-year-old white woman jogging at night in New York's Central Park was chased, down, beaten and raped by seven black and Hispanic youths. Their arrests, trials and convictions brought a torrent of invective and hand-wringing over the state of race relations in the city. Supporters of the suspects charged that the case had been trumped up by a racist criminal justice system determined to convict African American and Hispanic youths.

This month, two young black men were charged with robbing and murdering Jonathan Levin, a white teacher at a predominantly black and Hispanic high school in the Bronx. The reaction so far from black politicians and civic leaders to this potentially racially charged case has been silence.

The responses to the two cases go beyond questions of evidence or police conduct. The differences seem to reflect the general change of racial climate, not only in New York but across the country. After years of accusations exchanged — racism, anti-Semitism, insensitivity, laziness, bigotry, arrogance or just plain bad manners — a curious new element seems to have descended over America's roiling racial landscape: Peace.

It is a tranquility that seems more relative than absolute, possibly more temporary than enduring, and largely grounded in resignation rather than reconciliation. Still, as President Clinton addressed the nation yesterday about the state of race relations, there is evidence that he chose a moment far calmer than just a few years ago.

"This is a good time for a lot of people," said Michael Meyers, head of the New York Civil Rights Commission. "You can't argue against the facts. We have made a whole lot of progress in race relations, and we have to acknowledge that."

Satisfaction

For now, no cities are burning. No divisive events like the O. J. Simpson trial are preoccupying Americans. Among African-Americans overall, income, life expectancy and employment have been rising. Figures like Colin Powell, Oprah Winfrey, Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods are idolized by whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asians alike. A Gallup poll released last week showed remarkably high levels of satisfaction among blacks and tolerance among whites.

In some ways the climate makes Mr. Clinton's appeal for racial healing, while important, sound oddly out of sync. "Typical speaking, Presidents talk about the race question in times of a real, overt, no question-about-it civil strife type of emergency," said Randall Kennedy, a professor at Harvard

Law School. "This is not that moment." But if peace abounds, it is also fraught with paradoxes, and the pessimists have fodder of their own. Unemployment rates in the poorest neighborhoods have barely budged. Disparities in the quality of education persist. Hispanic people, especially, are losing ground. As more blacks move into the middle class and their contacts with whites increase, their doubts that racial harmony can be achieved have only grown. And many blacks are quietly seething over the scaling back of affirmative action programs.

"The climate feels like one of retrenchment, and quite possibly quite severe retrenchment in terms of civil rights," said Lawrence Bobo, a professor of sociology at the University of California at Los Angeles.

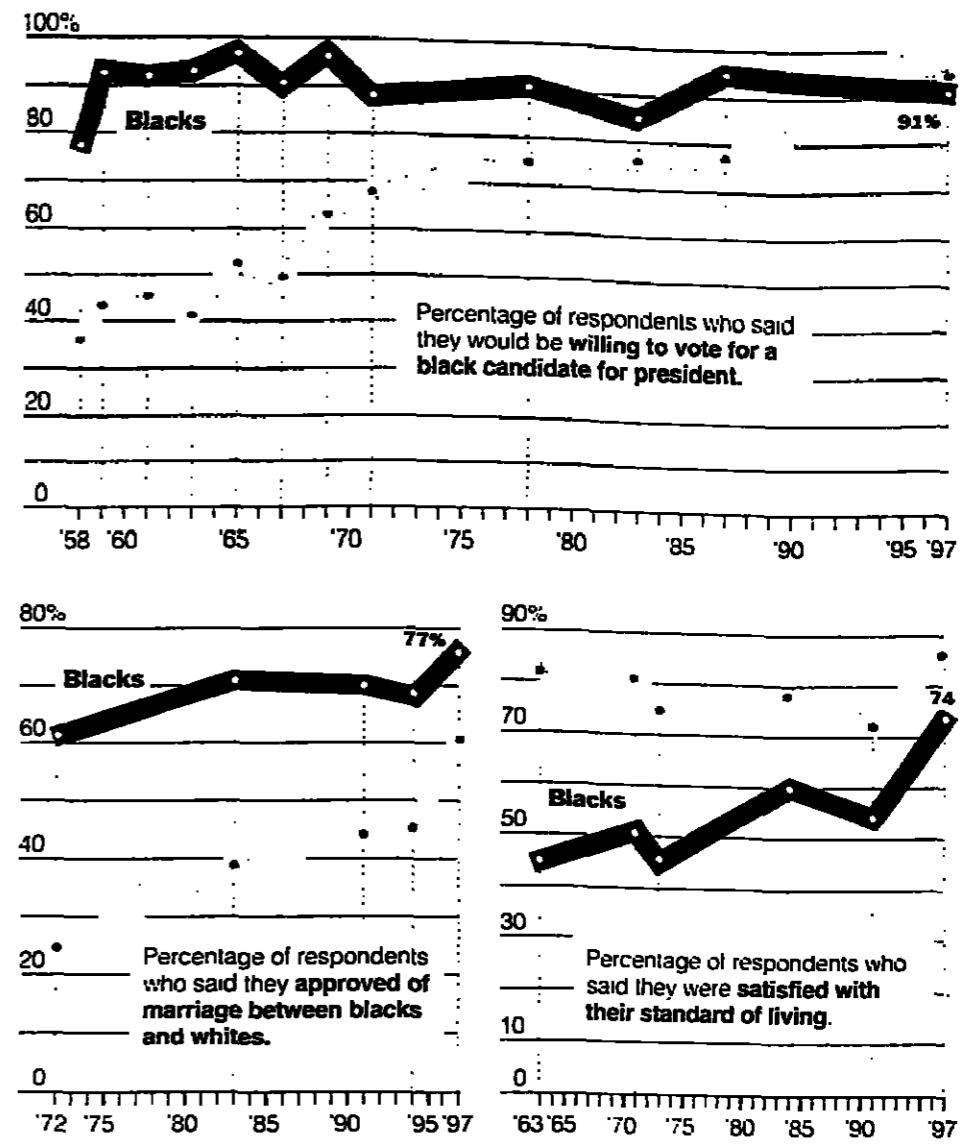
As James Carville or Karl Marx would not doubt say if asked the underlying reason for the placid face of race relations: it's the economy, stupid. Indeed, the jobless rate among blacks, while still twice that of whites, has hovered around 10 percent since 1994, the longest period of sustained relatively low black unemployment in 20 years.

"A lot of ordinary folks are benefiting tremendously from one of the best economies we have had in memory," said Milton Morris, former vice president of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, which studies race-related issues. "And the black community is benefiting substantially from that."

In these good times, blacks are expressing

Hopeful Signs

A new national survey revealed widespread pessimism among Americans on race relations, but there was cause for optimism, especially when the responses to some questions were compared with results from earlier polls.



Based on national polls conducted by the Gallup Organization. The most recent poll was conducted by telephone Jan. 4-Feb. 28 with 1,269 blacks and 1,680 whites.

satisfaction with their circumstances that belies the gloom-and-doom scenarios often sketched by leaders of liberal civil rights groups. In the far-reaching poll by the Gallup Organization, 74 percent of black respondents said they were satisfied both with the way things were going in their personal lives and with their standard of living.

Voting and Marriage

The Gallup poll also pointed to levels of acceptance and tolerance among whites that are unprecedented. In the survey, 93 percent of whites — a higher percentage than African-Americans — said they would be willing to vote for a black candidate for President. And 61 percent of whites said they approved of interracial marriages, the highest level since the polling firm began asking this question in 1972 — when only 25 percent of whites were approving.

Some skeptics scoff that these findings are the result of people parroting what they think an interviewer wants to hear. But there are other measures of acceptance: five African-Americans won re-election to the House last year in majority white districts, for example, after the Supreme Court invalidated their old districts, which had been deliberately drawn

to create black majorities.

Still, there are some underlying reasons for the relative calm that do not necessarily augur well for the future. One is the demoralized and disorganized state of liberal civil rights groups, which have failed to rally opposition to a conservative tide that is reshaping public policy in three areas that are racial flash points: crime, welfare and affirmative action.

"They're winning," said Mr. Meyers. "They've cut welfare. They're tough on crime, and affirmative action is out the window. Of course things are quiet."

Perhaps most worrisome in the poll was the finding that even if things are relatively good on the racial front, whites and blacks do not feel they will get much better. Fifty-eight percent of the whites and 54 percent of black respondents said they felt race relations will always be a problem in this country; in 1963, 44 percent of whites and 26 percent of blacks held that view. Such a finding may indicate that as the nation approaches the end of the century what remains apparent, to paraphrase the Kerner Commission in its report almost 30 years ago, is two societies, still separate, still unequal, and, if happier with their lot, more than ever feeling that things are about as good as they're going to get.

Freewheeling Freedom

Appalled by Risk, Except in the Car

By MATTHEW L. WALD

FROM Alar on apples to cyanide in Chilean grapes to flammable cargo in the holds of airplanes, the question about risk is often: how much should be imposed on people?

Here's a tougher one: how much risk should people be allowed to impose on themselves? The answer seems to be: the sky's the limit as long as it involves their cars.

Cars are a prime American symbol of personal freedom, and politicians propose limits on them at their peril. Last week the National Transportation Safety Board recommended that states toughen laws to insure seat-belt use and keep children out of the front seat. The issue isn't safety versus money: Unlike new equipment for planes, buckling up or putting a child in the back is free. The issue is safety versus freedom.

Take, for example, current law regarding seat belts, which cut the risk of death almost in half. Although the Government has required them in cars since the early 1970's — and 49 states require their use — 36 states forbid the police to stop drivers just because they or front-seat passengers are unbelted. The officer must first see what is considered a more serious violation, like a burned-out tail light.

In many states the only law that police cannot routinely enforce is the seat belt law. Legislatures debate every year whether to strengthen their laws. Only the most compelling events move them to act. In Oklahoma this year, a bill toughening requirements for children under 18 seemed destined for defeat again until mid-May, when a hospital trauma nurse testified that when a hospital nurse testified that the scene of a helicopter crash, she saw a two-car accident. Even before landing, she saw that two unbelted people had been thrown from one of the cars. The nurse rushed to one victim and, finding him dead, she headed for the other. She immediately recognized the child by his shoes. It was her son, also killed in the crash.

Her story shocked the legislature into changing state law. But in Illinois, where the death toll from not wearing seat belts was similar but there was no such dramatic tale,



Woody Allen gazes as Tony Roberts shields himself from the sun in "Annie Hall."

politicians voted down a bill last month.

And just as the states do not dictate to people what they may do in the sacred precincts of their cars, they also do not tell them how to handle their children there. They all require baby seats. But the laws governing older children are a muddle and in many states weak and weakly enforced.

"Parents who let their kids go around inside a car unbelted, well, it borders on child abuse," said R. David Pittle, vice president and technical director of Consumers Union, which publishes Consumer Reports. "It's like letting a kid play in traffic. It's about that irresponsible."

But it happens all the time.

A Free Lunch

The dichotomy between risks that are imposed and those for which individuals volunteer became clear last week, when the Federal Aviation Administration, responding to last year's ValuJet crash, proposed a rule to make airlines install smoke detectors and fire suppression systems in the cargo holds of 3,700 jets at a cost of up to \$75,000 each. The airline industry asked for the rule, even though its officials say the chance of a fire in such holds is about 1 for every 40 million departures. They wanted uniform regulation on an issue of considerable public anxiety.

On the other hand, a member of the National Transportation Safety Board complained that every day highway deaths equal the 110 killed in the ValuJet crash. One quarter would be saved if all wore seat belts,

he said, and it costs nothing.

In fact, it is less a free lunch than it is a lunch the public would be paid to eat. If the amount of people wearing belts rose to 85 percent from the current 68 percent, according to the safety board, 4,200 fewer people would die yearly. Society would save \$7 billion in medical and other costs; of that the Federal treasury would save \$1 billion.

Surely, a policy wonk would have figured out by now that there are better uses for \$1 billion than failing to enforce seat belt laws. Even libertarians agree. "Since my insurance premiums go up if you behave stupidly, why don't I have a say in your behavior?" said Peter M. VanDoren, an economist at the Cato Institute.

But it's not about money.

It's not about probability, either, because unlike plane crashes, car crashes are probable for most Americans. Most drivers can expect to have more than one. There is 1 crash every 210,000 miles driven, and the average driver covers 13,400 miles a year, which works out to 1 crash every 16 years. Fatalities occur once every 58 million miles, which is the distance that 4,300 average drivers cover in a year. That means that for every 100 people you know, one is likely to be involved in a fatal car crash.

But Americans do not think that cars are so dangerous that their behavior needs to be regulated. "Americans seem to be most libertarian, if you will, about their cars," said Mr. VanDoren. The car, he said, is "the late 20th-century incarnation of the Wild West frontier."

See How Washington Uses Dick and Jane

Continued From Page 1

programs in general."

Mr. Horn, who was chief of the Children's Bureau in the Bush Administration, added: "A cynic would say that children are being used as props or as proxies. But there is also a genuine concern for children. Poor children live in poor families."

Martha A. Matthews, director of Stanford Law School's family advocacy program, said: "Politicians on the left and the right play children as a card. This is perhaps a mix of sincere concern and political strategy. Poor children are a lot more popular in the public mind than poor adults because they can't be blamed for their condition."

"The left tends to use the symbolism of children to get political clout that we wouldn't otherwise have," she said. "If you're trying to raise standards for safety and decency in housing, you use a photo of a tiny kid in a rat-infested tenement, rather than a photo of a 40-year-old adult."

Debate over the welfare bill last year was couched almost entirely in terms of its effects on children. Few lawmakers or lobbyists spoke up for the parents who would lose cash assistance, food stamps, Medicaid and other benefits.

The emphasis on children as an especially vulnerable group comes even as public health experts and Government officials cite favorable trends. Infant mortality is declining, childhood immunization is rising, child-support collections are up and the teen birth rate is down.

But teen-age drug use is rising, and many parents have a sense that children are under siege, subjected to violence on the streets and to sex and violence on television. "Everywhere we look, children are under assault," Hillary Rodham Clinton, a former chairwoman of the Children's Defense Fund, wrote in her book "It Takes a Village." And so politics sometimes seem to revolve around children, as shown by these initiatives:

- Stymied in his effort to guarantee health insurance for all Americans, President Clinton is now working with Congress to guarantee coverage for children.
- The campaign against smoking has

moved beyond restaurants and the workplace to focus on children, as the Clinton Administration tries to halt the sale and advertising of tobacco products to minors. Leaders of the campaign say that smokers are hooked on tobacco as children, and so a new tobacco tax is justified to finance health insurance for children.

- Opponents of abortion, hoping to answer the accusation that they are intruding into women's lives, say they are trying to protect "preborn children."
- In April, President Clinton signed an executive order telling Federal agencies to protect children from "environmental health risks and safety risks." Children's small size and their developing bodies make them particularly vulnerable to contaminants, he said.
- The White House held a conference on early childhood development to highlight new research on the brain. One lesson is that neural connections formed in the first two years of life establish the foundation for rational thinking and problem-solving skills, vital to success in later life.
- Why has there been so much emphasis on children and childhood?

Philippe Ariès, a cultural historian, analyzed the concept in a 1960 book, "Centuries of Childhood." "In medieval society," he said, "the idea of childhood did not exist." Until about the 12th century, he asserted, medieval artists portrayed children in neither realistic nor idealized ways, but simply as "small-scale adults."

Freud, by contrast, saw childhood as the most important stage of life and traced the neuroses of adults to their experiences as children. Psychological researchers are still elaborating on his insights.

Politicians have cited those findings to argue for more money for Head Start, child care and nutrition programs. But it is not just new understanding that explains the fixation on children. The narcissism of baby boomers is a factor.

"The baby boom generation is having kids," Dr. Horn said. "When baby boomers were in their 20's, they focused on themselves. Now that they're in their 40's, they are focusing on their children. They want things to be better for their kids. What baby boomers want, they get."

Ideas & Trends

Concealing a Pregnancy To Avoid Telling Mom

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON — If parents, and mothers in particular, haven't been blamed for enough of their children's problems, there is yet another accusation against them: One of the most common reasons some young women hide their pregnancies for nine months is that they are afraid to tell their mothers.

Officials have not discussed publicly the circumstances of 18-year-old Melissa Drexler, who last week attended her senior prom in New Jersey, gave birth in the bathroom and returned to the dance, leaving a maid to find the dead baby boy in the trash. Or the circumstances of a 19-year-old, also in New Jersey, who last week crept downstairs in the middle of the night and delivered a baby girl in her parents' garage. (She intended to take the baby elsewhere and leave her for adoption before her parents woke up, but she passed out and her father found the baby.)

Cheerleaders, Not Sociopaths

There are no reliable statistics on how often women conceal their pregnancies. But it is common enough that a conference by a group called Post-Partum Support International met last week in Las Vegas to examine, among other topics, what physiological changes may occur in the brain that lead some women to hide their pregnancies and lead some to kill their offspring.

In the limited literature on the subject, teen-agers who hide their pregnancies most commonly point to the very person who gave birth to them in explaining their deception.

"A prominent feature in several of the neonaticides was the inability of the unwed girl to reveal her pregnan-

cy to her mother," wrote Dr. Phillip J. Resnick, a professor of psychiatry at Case Western Reserve Medical School, in his ground-breaking 1970 study of women who kill their newborns.

Dr. Resnick said in an interview that while in many cases the pregnant teen-agers feared both parents, they feared "the mother in particular." While out-of-wedlock births may carry less stigma today than ever, he said, many of these teen-agers are "good girls" who are afraid "that their mother would have so much shock and disapproval that they couldn't bear to face it." At the same time, he cautioned that "some fathers are very strict, and I can see a father being less forgiving."

Dr. Robert Blum, a professor of pediatrics and adolescent health at the University of Minnesota, said that fathers are more peripheral than mothers. "Ask the average 15-year-old what the worst thing is about being pregnant, and she'll say, 'Telling Mom.' Moms are more in the lives of kids," he said.

"It is the fear of rejection, of retribution, of falling in the esteem of your parents," he added. "We spend our lives trying to appease our parents. That is the most important community you will ever have. For a kid who has no other resources, the notion of being rejected by your family is petrifying."

Dr. Margaret Spinelli, director of a maternal mental health program at the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, said she found that pregnant teen-agers seemed equally afraid of telling either parent. In extensive interviews with nine teen-agers who killed their newborns, she found several patterns. Seven of the nine had been sexually or physically abused (by someone outside the family). The girl was usually her father's favorite, excelling in school and earning good grades. "They have no sociopathic traits," she said. "Some are cheerleaders."

But in many cases, there was a complex family



On her prom night, Melissa Drexler, shown arriving with her date, gave birth and left her baby in the trash.

dynamic with a confusion of roles. The mother of the teen-ager was often cold and rejecting, Dr. Spinelli said, and the father "hyper-vigilant and intrusive" in his daughter's life. The girl played something like the role of wife to her father, so that when she became pregnant, she was overwhelmed with guilt that she had betrayed him. And she had to hide this closeness from her mother. Abused women tend to "compartmentalize" their sexual activity, she said, so when they become pregnant, they block it out as a coping mechanism. "They don't consciously hide it, they dissociate from it," Dr. Spinelli said. "They can go along with an unawareness of their pregnancies, then blame the baby on something like the food they ate."

One pregnant teen-ager was riding in a horse show,

interrupted her ride to go to a secluded stall and deliver her baby, then climbed back on her horse. Another, left in the middle of work to deliver her baby. Dr. Spinelli quoted her as saying, "I was convinced the baby was dead, so I went back to work."

Dr. Resnick explains such seemingly incomprehensible behavior by saying that such a woman does not bond with her infant in utero. "The woman views the infant as foreign, like a peach pit going through her body," he said. Because she doesn't think of herself as pregnant, she makes no preparations, either to care for the infant or kill it. Mostly, he said, the teen-ager fantasizes about a stillbirth so she won't have to do anything. "Then the infant cries," he said, "and there is a need to silence the intruder."

License to Thrill

It Happened One Night. O.K., One Morning.

By EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

IN his memoirs, Benjamin Franklin wrote that he would gladly live life over again, if only he could act like an author preparing a second edition of his book: he should not only be able to fix errors but also modify events, and presumably alter endings. The next best thing to reliving life, Franklin continued, might be recollecting it which, judging from the liberties he took, involved the same sorts of revisions.

In the surge of memoir writing that has been taking place recently, such tinkering with life's details has been even more plentiful — as have objections to casual reworkings of fact. "Locked in the Cabinet" (Knopf), the best-selling memoir by Robert B. Reich, the former Secretary of Labor, was strenuously attacked in a recent issue of the on-line magazine Slate for "fabricating quotations and rewriting history" with its "morality fables." Jonathan Rauch, a contributing editor of The National Journal, cited not just disagreements typical of those inhabiting another person's memoir but jarring differences with the public record.

Another popular book, "The Cliff Walk: A Memoir of a Job Lost and a Life Found" (Little, Brown) by Don J. Snyder, recounts the author's tale of an academic paradise lost (teaching literature at Colgate University) and a countercultural paradise found (becoming a house painter in Maine). Writing in another on-line publication, Salon, Mark Lasswell, a consulting editor of Maxim magazine, attacks Mr. Snyder for distorting his job history and his current activities to score political points in his portrait of a bankrupt American dream.

But not only the new media are skeptical of print proclamations. Traditional media have also raised questions about the proportions of

accuracy and invention in "The Kiss" (Random House), Kathryn Harrison's ornate recollections of her incestuous adult affair with her father. There has even been some skepticism that Frank McCourt could possibly have recalled all the heartbreaking conversations and excruciating detail of his poverty-stricken Irish childhood in his memoir, "Angela's Ashes" (Scribner).

Nothing New

As Franklin's case suggests, some aspects of this memoiristic controversy are not particularly new. While the word "autobiography" has an objective tone, as if it just involved writing the chronicle of the person who happens to be gazing out of one's mirror, a "memoir" is a literary form, constructed from shaped memories. It probably came into its own with Rousseau's "Confessions," an 18th-century autobiography whose entire (untrustworthy) pose is self-revelation. "I may omit or transpose facts, or make mistakes in dates," Rousseau declared, "But I cannot go wrong about what I felt, or about what my feelings have led me to do; and these are the chief subjects of my story."

We are in effect living with Rousseau's heirs, who treat the memoir as a history of feelings. The modern memoir shows the self as it sees and would like to be seen, all-powerful, blurring boundaries between interpretation and fact, memory and invention.

In a book like Mr. McCourt's, none of this matters: it rings with authenticity and is shot through with recollections of pain. But problems are created when a memoir is also an argument, as in Mr. Reich's. In one of Mr. Reich's examples, Mr. Reich portrayed his talk at a National Association of Manufacturer's breakfast as an encounter with a barely civil, all-male, cigar-smoking capitalist audience; Mr. Rauch argues that the au-



John S. Dylkes

diency was actually nonsmoking, one quarter female and, judging from a transcript, polite while being critical. Mr. Reich's account of hostile, aggressive journalists at a news conference, is unsupported by a transcript of that event as well, as is Mr. Reich's version of what happened at a Congressional hearing. Mr. Rauch argues that Mr. Reich did not bother to check sources because his main intention was to create a kind of cinematic simplicity that would emphasize his virtue (and his martyrdom). The created self was in service to a cause. Mr. Reich, in a response in the June

7-14 issue of Slate, defended his methods by recounting his own phone conversation with Mr. Rauch: "I've captured the mood, the tone, the feel of the conversation, even if I got some of the words wrong. And that's the truth." Mr. Rauch says he's wrong about that as well.

Mr. Snyder is accused of something similar. According to Mr. Lasswell, Mr. Snyder's portrayal of his academic past is rife with distortion.

His "good job" at the University of Maine, which he says he "quit," was actually a one-year nonrenewable contract. His "firing" from the Eng-

lish department at Colgate University was a routine failure to obtain tenure.

And while Mr. Snyder's quest supposedly ends by his giving up on professional life for the satisfactions of manual labor, Mr. Lasswell asserts he is also holding a one-year position as an assistant professor at the University of Maine. Mr. Snyder's distortions, according to Mr. Lasswell, are in service to a countercultural portrait of public greed and individual virtue. Mr. Lasswell says that Mr. Snyder did not respond, but the accusations, again, are that feelings hold more sway than fact, and perceptions

more than reason.

Sexual memoirs like Ms. Harrison's are somewhat different, because they are part of a growing genre of women's memoirs that Ann Hubert has described as "the feminine perverse," recounting extreme versions of female experience. At a time when sexual difference is a cultural obsession, each sexual memoir is also a case history of feelings and sensibilities in formation.

This is also true of portions of Naomi Wolf's "Promiscuities" (Random House) as well as the memoiristic essays about sexual arousal in Daphne Merkin's "Dreaming of Hitler" (Crown). The memoir, which has

The modern memoir: a portrait of the author as he would like to be seen.

always been a form of self-presentation, is now taking as its subject the invention of the female self.

It may even be that the explosion of new memoirs is a sign of a more general clamoring for self-definition, a hope that somehow, as we submerge ever more deeply into accounts of the self, we will find not distortion but truth. "I sometimes think only autobiography is literature," Virginia Woolf wrote in a letter late in her life. "Novels are what we peel off, and come at last to the core, which is only you or me." The only problem is that that leaves us only with memoirs and confessions — a collection of narcissistic second editions, composed before they are checked against the definitive first.

Guess Which City Looks a Lot Like America

Continued From Page 1

second becomes the establishment," said Wendy Liebmann, a New York retailing consultant and immigrant herself, from Australia.

New York also remains the American business establishment's home office. Corporate power and huge concentrations of capital, from the Fortune 500 fortresses of midtown Manhattan to the financial empires of Wall Street, do not, by their very nature, encourage social experimentation.

A third force of inadvertent conservatism is real estate. Most of the rest of the country is cheaper. Kmart finally came to the space-constrained island of Manhattan for the first time in 1996 for the simple reason that it was one of the few frontiers left. The economics of opening a store in New York finally made sense because the rest of the country

got full up.

The idea of New York City as a promised land — unlike, say, California — has never really gripped the American imagination. For millions of Americans, the phrase "back East" remains a sweeping stock expression that often takes in the New York of their Ellis Island heritage and, in a general way, the past itself. Just in the 1990's so far, about 1.3 million residents of the New York region have moved out. Indeed, it was big news this year when a New York Times Poll found that for the first time in a decade, a majority of New Yorkers said that given the chance to leave, they wouldn't.

But at the same time, New York is also one of the world's great population magnets, both for foreign immigrants and for ambitious native-born Americans in fields as diverse as

finance and theater, television and accounting and, most recently, computer technology. For the thousands who leave, thousands more come, leaving the population basically unchanged now for years while the city itself constantly churns.

In the past, that classically New York pattern — millions of struggling immigrants living alongside highly skilled, highly paid strivers — made the city an aberrant American place of extreme poverty and extreme wealth. Its base population on average was far less educated than Americans as a whole.

But in recent years, extremes of rich and poor have come home to apple-ripe America as well, in cities of every stripe, as middle-class economic gains have eroded. New York simply doesn't look so strange anymore. Meanwhile, changes in immigration law designed to encourage skills needed in the work force have

Loathe New York in the sticks? Hah. Keokuk would die for a Hercules parade.

resulted in sharply higher education levels among foreign arrivals to New York. In Los Angeles, by contrast, a high proportion of immigrants — many from Mexico, in particular — still come in the classic style, with little formal education.

New York's economic identity — unlike Chicago's, for example — was only marginally ever based on making things. The city had manufacturing, certainly — the garment industry, in particular — but what made it boom, beginning in the 1800's, was the buying and selling and repackag-

ing and marketing of products made elsewhere. Forget the big shoulders. New York was the city of big ledger sheets.

Some sociologists and economists say that the descendants of that mercantile-seaport economic culture, industries that range from Wall Street to advertising to television, are now morphing into a new form as technologies and world trade rhythms meld.

In the post-cold war economy of the 21st century, said Emanuel Töbier, a professor of economics and planning at New York University, what America will sell most is its vision, its world view, its entertainment — in sum, its culture. And among the places that seem most

rapidly to be building such a prototypically American economic sector, he argues, is New York.

"A new industrial complex has burgeoned," Professor Töbier said. Exhibit A of this cultural/industrial complex is the interconnection of entertainment, fashion and technology that is emerging as the signature flavor of New York's growing computer software industry. Known as Silicon Alley. Another example is the tourism-fueled transformation of Times Square.

The next logical question, of course, is what vision of American culture New York will proceed to sell to the world, given that the city has rarely acknowledged the existence of a culture anywhere west of the Hudson River. Or in the end, with New York simply export itself and call it America?

Who will know the difference?

Handwritten note at the top of the page.

ECONOMY

Jonathan Steinberg: A Financial Empire of Small Stocks

By LESLIE EATON

THE jury is still out on whether Jonathan Steinberg really has the Midas touch. What is already clear is that he has a lot of brass. While still in his 20's, Mr. Steinberg, who dropped out of college, won The Wall Street Journal's monthly investing contest six times from 1990 to 1994 by betting on tiny, often flighty stocks. Using his reputation as a stock picker and his family money — he is the eldest son of Saul P. Steinberg, one of the most feared corporate raiders of the 80's — young Mr. Steinberg, now 32, went on to build a media empire that specializes in investment tips on small, even obscure, stocks. He has gradually turned an old penny-stock tip sheet into a glossy monthly, Individual Investor, with a paid circulation of almost half a million. Mr. Steinberg boasts that it is "the most useful and original personal finance magazine in America." His properties also include a small newsletter, a new magazine for stockbrokers, a site on the World Wide Web and a recent book, "Midas Investing: How You Can Make at Least 20 Percent in the Stock Market This Year and Every Year" (Times Business/Random House). And he doesn't yet appear to be in 1994, raising millions of dollars for a

so-called hedge fund, Wisdom Tree, that he manages for wealthy investors. But not everything is golden in Mr. Steinberg's empire, despite its glittery surface. The public company he runs, Individual Investor Group Inc., just reported its worst quarterly loss in five years. His once-hot investment fund is in the red, his published stock picks are lagging behind the market and some longtime readers are starting to complain that they are getting poor advice. And he has recently beefed up his disclosure policy, revealing that the fund he manages has more holdings than previously announced in the tiny stocks he recommends in his publications — stocks that are sometimes moved by those recommendations. While the increased disclosure is no doubt good for his readers, it raises questions about how Mr. Steinberg balances his roles as chief executive, editor in chief and portfolio manager. Mr. Steinberg says he is not worried about conflicts of interest because of the company's disclosure policies and trading rules. "We are very aware of what the S.E.C. is looking for," he said. A more serious problem, to him, is the distraction that comes from trying to do several things at once. Fortunately, he said, "there is a lot of overlap between my magazine duties and my money-management duties."

Indeed, Mr. Steinberg seems to personify the blurring of the line between journalists and the people they cover, between people who write and people who do. But financial journalism has attracted everyone from Fidelity Investments, the mutual fund behemoth that owns Worth magazine, to Michael R. Bloomberg, the former bond trader who has built a news organization to help sell his financial data service.

MUTUAL fund managers from Peter Lynch on down have become media stars, Forbes magazine has long had columnists from Wall Street and George Soros's former partner, James B. Rogers Jr., holds forth as a host on CNBC. Then there is James J. Cramer, who manages a hedge fund while running an Internet news service called thestreet.com, opening in a weekly column for The New York Observer and writing regularly in Worth. But Mr. Cramer, who was mortified by an uproar over some small stocks he had owned and praised in Smart Money, has vowed to adhere to guidelines aimed at avoiding even the appearance of impropriety. For example, he cannot suggest a story to the staff of thestreet.com — even though he owns almost a third of the company. The reporters and his hedge fund's investment staff are in different buildings, and are forbidden to speak to each other. And though he discloses any ownership stake in stocks mentioned in his columns, Mr. Cramer no longer publishes his stock picks. He has put all these rules into place, he said, to distinguish his operation from other Internet sites and publications, including Mr. Steinberg's. Why doesn't he approve of Mr. Steinberg? "I think he's in the business I'm in," Mr. Cramer replied, referring to money management. "Let him do what he wants; I feel I have to take special measures."



Jonathan Steinberg

they tend to feature rapid earnings growth, heavy insider buying, rising stock prices and what he views as exciting new products. He shuns companies that are traded on Nasdaq's OTC Bulletin Board, which has no listing requirements, and insists that companies have at least a million shares of public float. And Mr. Steinberg's favorite role is not chief executive, editor or even portfolio manager — it is analyst in chief, as a visit to his offices in midtown Manhattan makes clear. "I love reading business information," he said. "And now I'm paid to do research all the time."

Though his editorial voice can make him seem arrogant — "No great loss," he once wrote of losing Microsoft as a partner in a project — in person, Mr. Steinberg is boyishly brash, clutching a football and revealing in high-tech gizmos like a Bloomberg data terminal with two screens and a compact disk player that opens at the wave of a hand. At a table overlooking the obligatory view of Manhattan (from the 38th floor, in this case), Mr. Steinberg explains that he landed in publishing almost by accident. For one thing, he suffered from a reading disability so severe that when his school friends "were reading 'The Yearling,' I was one step above 'The Cat in the Hat,'" he said.

But he had always been entranced by number-heavy financial reports like Value Line, and he was determined to become an entrepreneur, like his father, Saul Steinberg, a boy wonder who turned a small insurance company into the giant Reliance Group Holdings, where he still serves as chairman and chief executive. "When my dad would wake up in the morning, I'd be depressed because I was going to school, but he'd throw his arms in the air and say, 'I love being alive,'" Mr. Steinberg recalled. "He was self-made, and I wanted to be self-made; I didn't want to be the stereotypical son of a wealthy person, but as confident and powerful as he was."

OF course, Mr. Steinberg's definition of "self made" is probably quite different from that of many entrepreneurs, who would feel lucky to inherit a pocket watch from Grandpa. Mr. Steinberg inherited enough money from his grandfather to buy the Penny Stock Journal in 1988, and he received early financial support from his father and his brother-in-law, Jonathan Tisch, president of Loews Hotels. Today, Saul Steinberg and Reliance Group own more than 30 percent of the Individual Investor Group.

Jonathan Steinberg, known as Jono to his friends, found his big idea when he was working on Wall Street at Bear, Stearns, and realized that almost no information was readily available about the vast majority of public companies, those with a total stock value of less than \$250 million. Professional investors generally disdain such small companies, because they often require too much research for the amount of profits they can generate, and because the thinly traded shares can be hard to sell. But Mr. Steinberg disagreed. "Some percentage of them, I bet, would perform very well," he said. And, since most institutional investors were not active in this area, he thought it would be a place where individuals would have a leg up. Mr. Steinberg's passion for investments is apparent at his company's weekly "analysts meeting," at which a clutch of bright young men propose investment ideas for the newsletter, Individual Investor's Special Situations Report, as well as for the maga-

zine and, of course, for the Wisdom Tree fund (which also has its own special analyst). Though it is a scene you would never find in a magazine or newspaper office, in some ways the meeting could be occurring in any Wall Street firm that employs young people still waiting for the results of their exams to become certified financial analysts. Under the direction of Mr. Steinberg and Thomas C. Byrne, the director of research, five of the young men make their cases for their favorite stocks, describing new products and spouting financial ratios. Despite their obvious smarts and sophisticated financial skills, the analysts and their bosses still display a certain naiveté, especially for people dealing in the risky world of very small stocks, where financial performance can be fleeting and investors' interests do not always take precedence. For example, one analyst argued for a laboratory testing company that is paying a hefty dividend, even though its operations are not generating enough money to cover the dividend payments. Maintaining the dividend was cited as a vote of confidence by management that sales and earnings were turning around. No one even wondered if perhaps the controlling stockholder was siphoning off some of the company's sizable cash hoard in the form of dividend payments.

The analysts also discussed the prospects for a shoe company called Steve Madden Ltd. without, apparently, being aware of its major claim to fame in the financial world: it was underwritten in 1993 by Stratton Oakmont, probably the country's most notorious penny-stock operation, which was shut down by regulators last year in part because of its manipulation of Madden stock. Later, over iced tea and rare tuna at Le Bernardin, Mr. Steinberg said he makes it a rule not to judge a company by the way it went public. "You can't read a lot into it," he said. "Small entrepreneurs are just trying to raise money. If a brokerage firm is being dishonest in its dealings, that doesn't mean" its clients are.

MR. Steinberg has his own reasons for being appreciative of small brokerage firms. In 1991, when his company's straits were so dire that he said he was willing to go bankrupt rather than ask his family for more money, Mr. Steinberg was rescued by a small investment outfit, GKN Securities, which was willing to help him sell shares to the public. The offering took place at the end of 1991, when the company raised almost \$4 million. What public investors got was a 46 percent stake in a money-losing company that basically had two products: a small newsletter called Special Situations Report, which focused on one company each month, and Individual Investor, which had a circulation of less than 65,000 and looked a little like Barron's, the weekly Dow Jones magazine that is published on newsprint. And they got Jono himself, who had become something of a media star through his appearances in The Wall Street Journal. In March 1990, he became one of the professional stock pickers who compete against a randomly selected group of stocks (Journal reporters throw darts at stock tables), a monthly exercise that functions as a sort of Gong Show for money managers.

Mr. Steinberg shone. His first pick, American Film Technologies, soared almost 40 percent in one month, and his second, Image Entertainment, posted a 9 percent gain in a falling market. But there may have been less there than met the eye. Both of his first picks were very cheap stocks, and it didn't take a big price move to cause a winning percentage gain. For instance, Image's 9 percent increase translates into a move from 69 cents to 75 cents. Moreover, these were tiny companies with relatively few shares available to the public. Insiders owned 36 percent of American Film's 19.5 million shares; Image Entertainment had 142 million shares outstanding, but insiders owned almost three-

quarters of them. Just a few buyers could push the price up, and did.

The "Steinberg effect" became even clearer with his third pick, Management Company Entertainment, an obscure outfit whose stock zoomed 36 percent the day it was his pick in The Journal, on 37 times its normal volume. (The shares came back to earth quickly, ending the month with a 6 percent gain, which was not enough to win that month's contest.) The longer-term track record of these companies left something to be desired. Within a few months of appearing in The Journal, Management Company Entertainment had filed for bankruptcy protection, as did American Film Technologies and Mr. Steinberg's fourth pick, Financial News Network.

The Journal, meanwhile, decided to change the contest, because of concerns over the effect of publicity on short-term stock prices. The time period for assessing a stock's performance was lengthened to six months from one, and the minimum stock price raised to \$2.

Mr. Steinberg went on to have some big winners, like Dell Computer; some big losers, like Software Toolworks, and some big winners that ultimately turned into losers, like Clearly Canadian, a little beverage company whose stock went from \$7.50 to \$25 in a year, and then plunged into the pennies. In 15 tries, Mr. Steinberg won 6 times, which remains a Journal record. He also had some of the worst performers in the history of the contest.

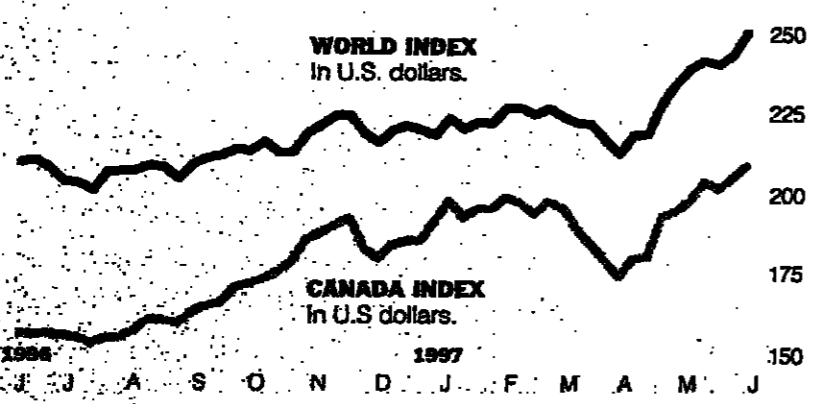
A similar pattern prevailed in the stocks Mr. Steinberg picked for Individual Investor, especially the Magic 25, an annual list of small-company stocks he thinks can average a 50 percent return in the next 12 months. (Just for comparison's sake, over the last 50 years the biggest annual jump for the Dow Jones 30 industrials was a 44 percent gain in 1954.) Bravely, Mr. Steinberg decided to publish his performance, warts and all. Not that there were many warts, at first. In its first year, 1992, the Magic 25 rose an average of 15 percent; in 1993, it zoomed almost 43 percent.

Given those results, perhaps it is understandable that Mr. Steinberg decided to manage real money in addition to a paper portfolio, despite the headaches such a move would bring. By running a private pool of money known as a hedge fund, rather than a publicly offered pool like a mutual fund, Mr. Steinberg and his company avoided having to register with the S.E.C. as an investment adviser, with the paperwork and reporting that entails. Nevertheless, the company still has to deal with the potential for conflicts of interest and front-running. Front-running is a particular problem when the focus is on very small stocks, whose prices can spurt, at least temporarily, from positive publicity.

In fact, data prepared by Mr. Steinberg's staff indicate that his operations are effective, at least, in stirring up interest in their "house stocks." After the company's Web site opened to the public in May, trading volume in those stocks soared by tens of thousands of shares. But to avoid conflicts, Mr. Steinberg's staff members are prohibited from trading personally in the shares of the companies his magazine follows. It is a policy similar to those at many publications; at The New York Times, for example, reporters who regularly cover investments cannot own stock in individual companies, although they can hold investments in diversified mutual funds.

As for Wisdom Tree, the fund has a policy of not trading in a stock mentioned in the magazine for two weeks before publication and for four weeks afterward. And if the trade would be contrary to a published recommendation — for instance, if the fund wants to sell something the magazine said was a buy — it must wait six weeks. "It is not our intention to profit from a stock by writing about it," Mr. Steinberg wrote when spelling out these restrictions in the January 1997 issue of Individual Investor.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Table with columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Week Rank, YTD % Chg., YTD Rank, Dividend Yield, YTD % Chg. Lists countries like Australia, Austria, Belgium, etc.

COMPOSITE INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Week % Chg., YTD % Chg., YTD Rank. Lists Europe, Pacific Basin, Europe/Pacific, World.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1997 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCY

Table with columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago. Lists Japanese yen, German marks, Canadian dollars, U.S. dollars to British pound.

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

June 9-13: Up, Up and Away: Five Days, Five Records for the Dow

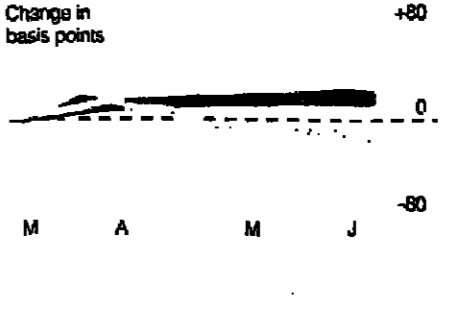
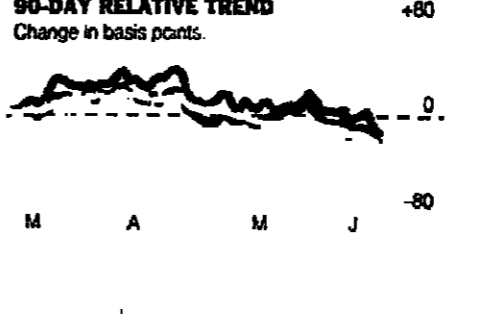
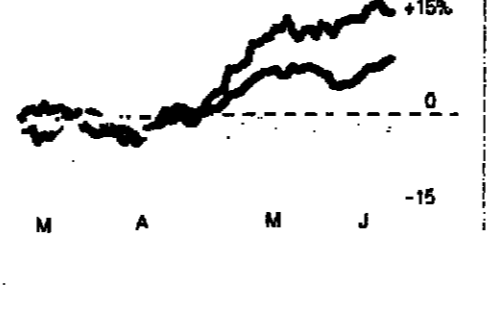
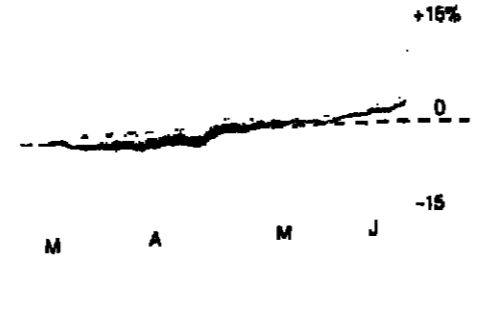
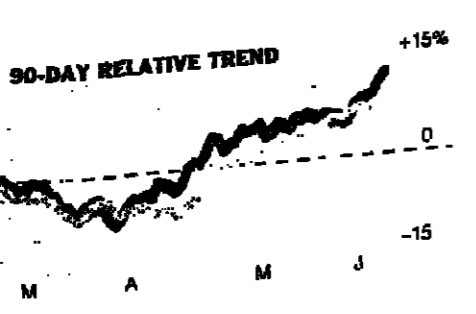
Table with columns: PRICES, DOMESTIC EQUITIES. Lists Broad market, S. & P. 500 index, Blue chips, Dow 30 industrials, Small capitalization, Russell 2000 index.

Table with columns: DOMESTIC BONDS. Lists Treasuries, Ryan Labs. Total Return, Municipals, Bond Buyer index, Corporates, Merrill Lynch Master index.

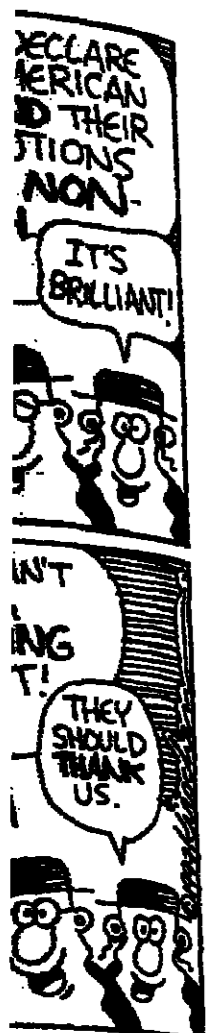
Table with columns: AROUND THE WORLD. Lists European stocks, Asian stocks, Gold, New York cash price.

Table with columns: YIELDS, BONDS. Lists Long bonds, 30-year Treasuries, Notes, 2-year Treasuries, Municipals, Bond Buyer index.

Table with columns: OTHER INVESTMENTS. Lists Money market funds, Taxable average, Bank C.D.'s, 1-year small savers, Stocks, S. & P. 500 dividend yield.



Sources: Bond Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets, The Bond Buyer, Datastream, Goldman, Sachs & Co.'s Money Fund Report, Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's, Ryan Labs.



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The Yowies, Toronto's Jewish bikers' club, gives new meaning to 'meals on wheels.' Kneeling in the front row is president and founder Bob Brodie.

Yidden On Wheels

'The open road and five square meals a day' is the motto of Toronto's Jewish bikers' club, Lauren Blankstein reports

Wearing black leather chaps and jacket he rides his rumbly Harley into the lot. His silver hair peeks out from underneath his helmet. In his sunglasses, you can see the reflection of the 30 gleaming motorcycles parked in front of him. He dismounts while the "blonde babe," perched majestically on the rear, slowly peels off her gloves. It's an impressive sight, despite the fact that you know he's a dermatologist. It's 9 on Sunday morning in the parking lot of a popular Toronto deli. The Yidden On Wheels, a Jewish motorcycling club, is meeting for its weekly ritual. About 35 members are present. As always, they have come decked out in their finest leather chaps, studded biker jackets, tight leather pants, boots, fringed gloves. They mingle all puffed up and proud, admiring their two-wheeled trophies. Yidden On Wheels, or the YOWies as they like to call themselves, is based in Toronto and has a handful of members in Australia, Israel and the United States. After about 20 minutes of loitering, one of the few females in the group yells, "let's eat," and with her call a trail of YOWies make their way into the restaurant for a hearty breakfast.

"Our informal motto," laughs one member, "is 'the open road and five square meals a day.'" Made up mainly of professionals — lawyers, doctors, accountants, business and sales people — the club has a strict policy that members "must leave their egos at the door" and they are forbidden to use the organization for networking. In addition to eating and biking, they do charitable work and when the bikes are retired for the winter, members get together for parties. Riding abilities and reasons for riding vary from person to person. For Jeannette Wajcbendler (one of the club's four female riders), the primary reason she rides a motorcycle is to be part of Yidden On Wheels. She's a Lubavitch single mother of four who knows nothing about bikes and relies on the help of other members to maintain her Honda 500. Although she says she loves to ride, she admits that she probably wouldn't own a motorcycle if the club didn't exist. It's the marriage of two elements — the

freedom of riding and the YOWies' strong sense of community — that draws her to this particular club. At first glance, this group bares an uncanny resemblance to the stereotypical, beer-guzzling thugs of a biker gang. But what gang requires each member to equip his bike with a first-aid kit and announces details of a shiva for one of its

members' parents before hitting the open road? "The gang image is something we're trying to dispel," says Bob Brodie, one of the club's founders and its president. That's why he insists that during club rides they break up into small riding groups so as to avoid intimidating car drivers. Brodie is a big, burly man who has been riding motorcycles for 40 years. His extensive travel log includes a year spent riding around the world and a few trips to Alaska. The club trips don't usually venture that far away from home. In addition to day rides throughout southern Ontario, this year they are planning a trip to Canada's east coast. Brodie and three friends established the club in June 1995. "We thought there had to be more than four Jewish guys who ride motorcycles," he says. Today they have a whopping 115 members. "It's going to peak," predicts Harley Davidson owner Morris

What gang announces details of a shiva for one of its members' parents before hitting the open road?

Cooper, the club's ride coordinator. "There are a finite number of Jews on bikes." However, there are also nine non-Jews who dish out the Can.\$65 (NIS 160) annual membership fee; they are lovingly referred to as "righteous members." "This isn't a flash in the pan, we're going to be around for a while," says Brodie. The club is impeccably organized — they have a written constitution, a monthly newsletter, in-house legal counsel and they even sell jackets, vests and pins adorned with the YOWie crest which features the Star of David and "hai" written in Hebrew. The oldest bike in the group is a 1961 BMW and the newest is Brodie's 1997 Honda Gold Wing, which retails for approximately \$35,000. But that's peanuts compared to some other souped-up treasures that are worth up to \$80,000. On a few, the paint job alone costs \$15,000. After breakfast, a slightly thinned-out crowd is back in the parking lot preparing for departure. Brodie scans the group, shrugs and then explains: apparently for some YOWies the trip to the restaurant and back home is enough riding for one day.

Home Front
The X's and Y's of child rearing
By Allison Kaplan Sommer

You can talk about parenting philosophies until you are blue in the face, but in my book, there are two basic kinds of parents: those who can leave their kids and those who can't. Sometimes, before a baby is born, it is possible to detect which people will become which brand of parents — but not always. Sometimes the transformation can be radical. Couples who once loved to go to parties, dine out at fine restaurants, see movies, travel, decide to procreate and — BOOM — they don't leave the house except to work,

I carry my cellular phone wherever I go. Pre-baby, I took a solemn vow that I would never become one of those rude and crass Telephone People.

are not going out to indulge themselves with a viewing of *The English Patient*, they are giving their kids quality time with their grandparents! And when it comes to considering jetting off for a few days of rest and relaxation in Greece, they can relax knowing that the intergenerational bonding is only getting stronger when the kids spend the night. And, let's face it, the price is right. But most of us are not quite so lucky, particularly we immigrants who have no such family around to share the wealth of childcare. For us, time off from child care means grocery shop or visit petting zoos for the next five years. Now, I think it's wonderful if people honestly and truly want to spend every moment of their free time with their children. (I haven't met any people like that, but I think it's wonderful.) But the reasons that many parents sentence themselves to house arrest are more complicated than that. Resolving the question of whether to leave your kids so you can dine/romance/socialize/travel at any given point is a simple mathematical equation. You take the amount of pleasure, relaxation and enjoyment you will get from your excursion — let's call that Variable X. Then you take the amount of guilt, worry, and fear you will feel from leaving your children with somebody else — let's call that the Y Factor. If X exceeds Y, you should definitely go out. If Y exceeds X, then what's the point? If you can't enjoy yourself while you are out, what is the point of dressing up and shelling out hard-earned shekels for a babysitter? You would have been better off renting a movie and ordering in some Chinese. Much of the above calculation depends on the quality of babysitting available. Parents who are freest to come and go as they please are the lucky folks who have both sets of grandparents living within spitting distance and are eager to host their grandchildren at any time. These are by far the most "liberated" of parents. They can achieve a spontaneity of lifestyle that even those with the most reliable live-in hired help fail to achieve. Why? Because the Y Factor is nearly totally eliminated — they

EARTHLY CONCERNS

Saving coral reefs

Attempts to repair coral reefs are actually going better than anyone ever expected. A coral reef, or a coral island, is fragile because it is a living, growing entity that, like all living things, has basic needs that must be satisfied. And corals can be damaged in many ways, by breaking, crushing or poisoning, either by pollution or by a silt covering that deprives them of light and oxygen. Despite the many dangers to corals, studies have shown that the greatest damage seems to come from crushing or breaking them. Sometimes this is the work of vandals and coral thieves, but most often the damage is done by inept scuba divers, according to Australian experts who have spent a number of years studying the problem. Too often, they say, these divers have too little experience to be let loose in the vicinity of something as delicate as a coral bed and they become like the "bull in a china shop." Up until now, most attempts at repairing damaged corals haven't enjoyed great success. Either it was impossible to secure transplant material or too much transplant material was needed, making it harmful to the donor reef. But Australian marine biologists have recently started a new coral repair technique. So far the experiments have been a remarkable success. The new technique makes use of fast-setting, underwater epoxy cement, a stiff brush and small pieces of live coral not larger than



Divers are the main cause of damage to corals; now they may also be the solution.

reef, the spot where they are to be planted is abraded with the brush and the piece of living coral is cemented in place with the underwater epoxy. By using this technique, it is possible to make a number of transplants without causing any significant damage to the healthy donor reef. Corals disperse either by spreading to adjacent areas or by the release of free-floating live polyps that settle on surfaces and begin to grow. No one knows exactly what it is that attracts free polyps to live coral clumps rather than dead coral. Whether or not the free polyps continue to colonize the transplants is as important as their spread and continued growth out of the transplanted material. When the cause of reef damage is poisoning by chemicals, sewage, silting over from eroded land masses along the shore or, as in the case of some Australian corals, destruction by predatory starfish, then transplants are not useful until the original cause of the damage is removed. But, for corals that have sustained mechanical damage by man or machine, the transplant technique seems to be one possible solution. In order to keep down costs, Australian experts are now training veteran scuba divers in the technique of reef grafting. Each team will be accompanied by a biologist who will choose and remove the donated material from the healthy reef, and the volunteers will do the grafting. After all, since it was mainly divers that did the damage, it seems a good thing to include them in the repairs.

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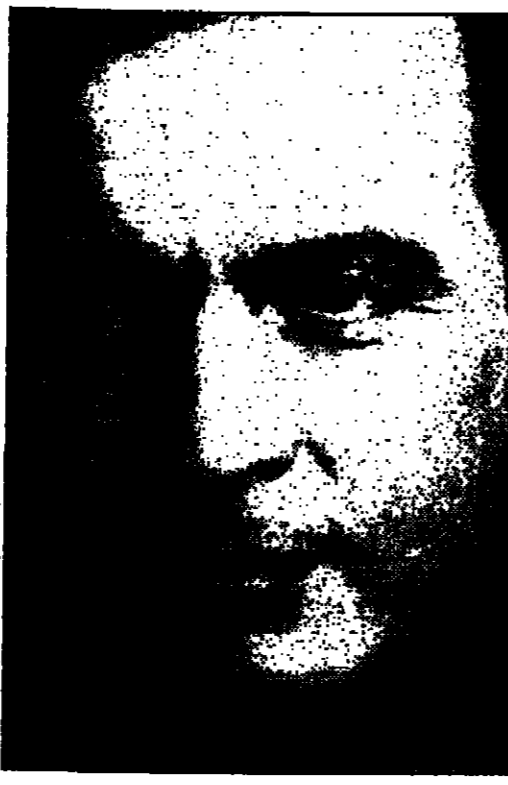
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FILM

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TV schedule table with columns for Channel, Time, and Program Name.

CABLE schedule table with columns for Cable, Time, and Program Name.

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CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

- ACROSS: 1 Extensive weighbridge? (5-5), 6 Partial electrical fault... DOWN: 1 Unproductive meadow to the north (4), 2 Trick sure to work (4)...

SOLUTIONS: Grid with filled letters and corresponding crossword clues and answers.

QUICK CROSSWORD: Grid with filled letters and crossword clues.

MOVIES: GLOBECITY = 8659900 Wedding Bell Blues-Liar... OR AVIVA = 622758 Con Air-Liar... Includes descriptions and showtimes for various films.

